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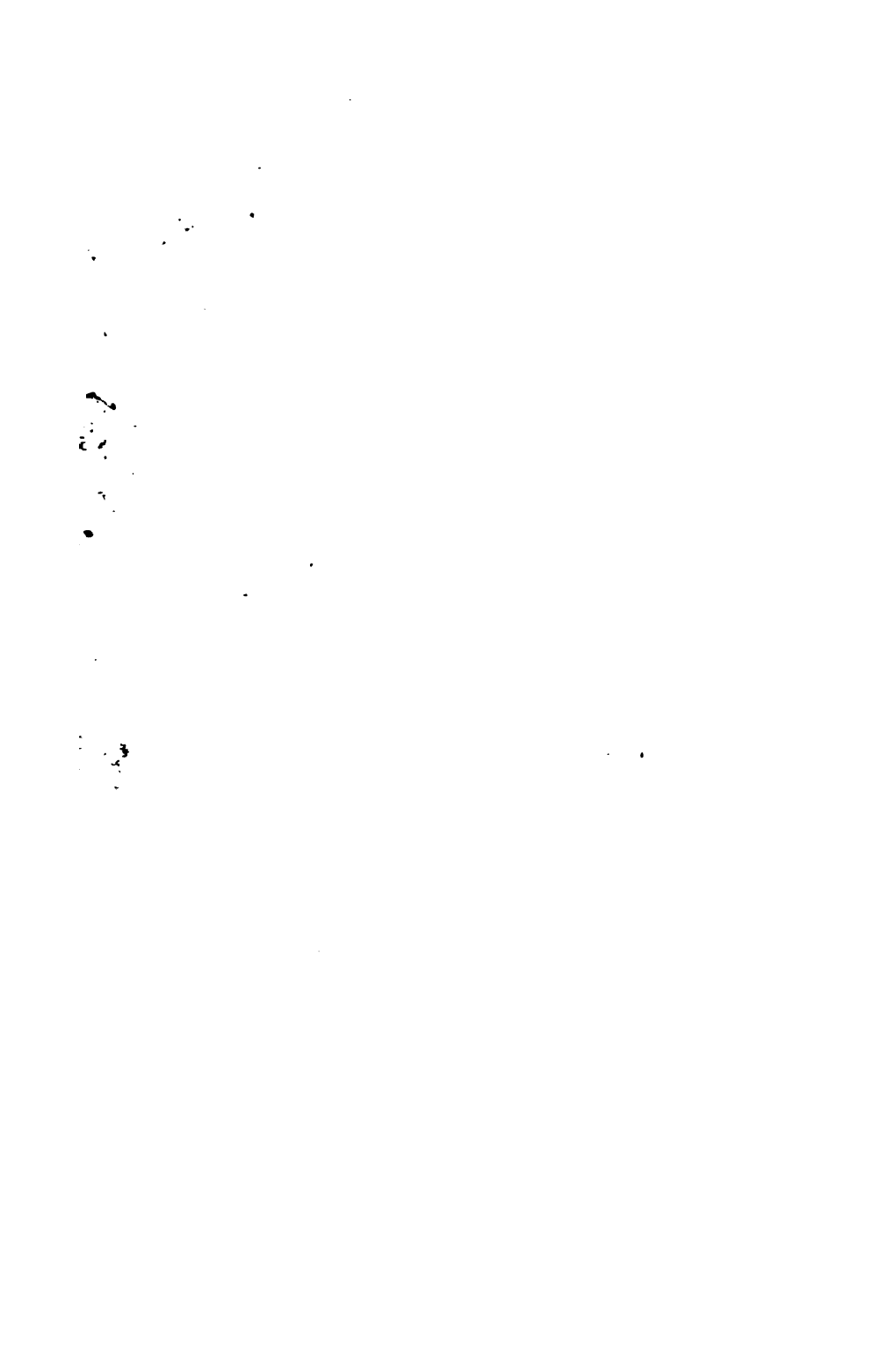
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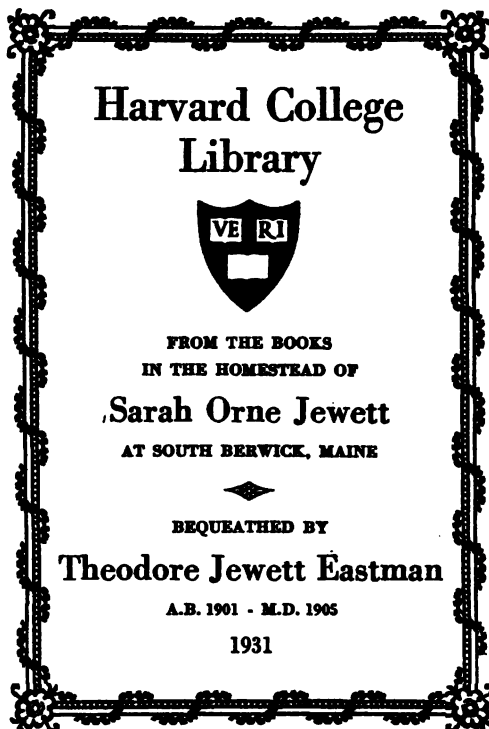
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English Prose Classics.

LORD BACON'S ESSAYS,

WITH A

SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER,

REVIEWS OF HIS PHILOSOPHICAL WRITINGS,
CRITICAL ESTIMATES OF HIS ESSAYS,
ANALYSIS, NOTES, AND QUERIES
FOR STUDENTS,
AND
SELECT PORTIONS OF THE 'ANNOTATIONS' OF
ARCHBISHOP WHATELY.

By JAMES R. BOYD,

EDITOR OF ENGLISH POETS WITH NOTES, AUTHOR OF
WORKS ON RHETORIC, ENGLISH COMPOSITION, ETC.

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE author, having annotated five of the English Poets—Milton, Young, Thomson, Cowper and Pollok—the volumes of which are extensively used in the process of education, an application was made to him a short time since by an earnest and experienced Teacher, to take up some of the older *English Prose Classics*, and perform a somewhat similar service in reference to them, with a view, chiefly, to make them useful in Schools for philological purposes—for acquiring a better knowledge and command of the English Language and Literature.

He writes: 'We have a very large class of young people, who, after remaining in the Common Schools as long as they can advance there, spend one, two, and often more years in some higher School, attending exclusively to English studies. These in after life, by reason of their intelligence and their numbers, constitute a very influential part of all our communities. These persons, for various reasons neglecting the study of foreign languages, eminently need some better facilities for obtaining classical culture in their own language than are now furnished.'

'The end I propose, then, is briefly this:—To furnish to the English student the best practicable substitute for that classical training which is ordinarily obtained through the study of Latin and Greek. And I scarcely need observe, that all but the smallest fraction of those

who receive the advantages of a Collegiate Course are sadly wanting in a just appreciation and mastery of their own language. We have many valuable works about the English language, and literature, and enough of instruction how to interpret what we read. To give a higher value to these, we need critically to read and interpret more good English in our Schools; and particularly (as you suggest), more of that English which is unlike that of our current speech and literature.'

After presenting (according to request) some details of the plan of the work which he desired to be prepared (and which, to a large extent, is attempted to be carried out by the Author), he says:—"I have written very freely. My plea in mitigation is, that *I write about what I have felt the want of in my daily work for years*. I hope that enough of the plan will strike you favorably to lead you to undertake something of the kind."

For the purposes named above, no book seems better adapted, as a foundation, than LORD BACON'S ESSAYS—abounding in classical learning, in occasional great felicities of style, in solid, weighty and ingenious thought; also in forms of expression antiquated, obsolete and obscure; in sentences sometimes elegant, sometimes decidedly the reverse, and these, in many instances, not well arranged as to length or structure, or distribution into paragraphs of suitable length. On these, and other accounts, these Essays are admirably adapted for critical purposes, for the culture of judgment and taste, for the comparison of older forms of expression with those approved at the present day, and as a preparation for the intelligent and appreciative reading of the great English authors of the seventeenth century, so rich in thought, in learning, and in genius:

This last is a point not to be overlooked ; for if we would preserve those authors from neglect by the present and by coming generations, we must introduce into schools one or more volumes presenting large and characteristic portions of the prose writings of such authors as Milton, Barrow, Jeremy Taylor, Owen Feltham and others, with critical and illustrative notes, analyses, and practical exercises upon the meaning and use of words, structure of sentences, and comparison with the usage of our own day. Thus will be afforded, not only a healthful exercise of the intellect, imagination, and taste, but a needful preparation, and disposition to explore the rich mines of the learned and profound, and varied literature of the Seventeenth Century, which, without such training in our schools, will hereafter be unexplored and unproductive, much to the detriment both of mental and moral culture.

The late Prof. Henry Reed, in showing that an expanded habit of reading is most important, as giving familiarity with *different eras of our own literature*, justly observes :—‘ There are many readers who dwell altogether in their own times, busy with what one day produces after another. This is a great error ; and they are the less able to gain a rational knowledge of that very literature, because exclusive familiarity with it gives no vision beyond, and, consequently, no capacity of comparison. Now just in proportion as one enlarges his reading into different periods, does his taste grow more enlightened, and wiser, and his judgment more assured. . . . It is needful to lift us out of the influences which environ us, to raise us above prejudices and narrow judgments which are engendered by confinement to contemporaneous habits of opinion. . . . The influence of the literature of different eras is reciprocal

—the earlier upon the later, and the later upon the earlier. But with regard to the elder literature, there is an agency for good in the added sentiment of reverence. The mind bows, or ought to bow to it, as to age with its crown of glory. It is as salutary as for the youthful to withdraw for a season from the companionship of their peers, and to sit at the feet of the old, listening in reverential silence. In the elder literature, the perishable has passed away, and that is left which has put on immortality.'

Bacon's Essays were more highly esteemed in the seventeenth century than they are in our own; partly because few works of that kind were then written, and partly because they possess much attractiveness of style, as compared with other writings of that period. But it must be confessed, that some Essayists of the last, and many of the present century, far outshine Bacon, as masters of an elegant, tasteful, perspicuous, and finished style, however high the former stands, even now, as a suggestive, profound, terse, and learned writer. The critical study of Bacon, in preparing the present work, has convinced the Editor that Bacon is far from being so easily understood and appreciated by the common mind, as Macauley represents him, when he says:—'It is in the 'Essays' alone that the mind of Bacon is brought into immediate contact with the minds of ordinary readers. There, he opens an exoteric school, and he talks to plain men in language which every body understands, about things in which every body is interested. He has thus enabled those who must otherwise have taken his merits on trust, to judge for themselves; and the great body of readers have, during several generations, acknowledged that the man who has treated with such consummate ability questions

with which they are familiar, may well be supposed to deserve all the praise bestowed on him by those who have sat in his inner school ;' [referring to Lord Bacon's Philosophical Writings, and which were written by him in the Latin language, then most widely read by scholars in Europe, but since translated into English by other hands.]

It is indeed to be considered that what was plain to a mind of ordinary education in the seventeenth century, in reading Bacon's Essays, is far from plain now, to persons of like education ; because many words, then understood, have become obsolete, or have changed their meaning ; some customs, also, that are alluded to, and were common then, and some forms of expression that were in general use, are now obscure or unknown, except among scholars, or persons well read in the old authors of Bacon's time, or of times somewhat more recent. But Macauley seems to have overlooked these circumstances, and to have forgotten another remarkable feature of the Essays, that must have rendered them to some extent unintelligible to any but persons acquainted with the Latin language, as they largely abound in very important quotations from that language, and without an understanding of these, much of the pleasure and profit of the perusal of these Essays is unavoidably precluded. Whatever may have been the lucidness and popularity of the Essays in Bacon's day, and for perhaps a century afterwards, the subsequent changes in the usages of language, and the abundance of the Latin quotations and allusions, render indispensable, to the popular mind of our own day, a pretty large amount of critical and illustrative notes, to render considerable portions of them agreeable or profitable reading.

Hence this Edition, in which are annotated all those

Essays which are considered as decidedly the most valuable, is regarded as worthy not only of a place in the schoolroom, but in the Library of the family; for though some of the grammatical and rhetorical exercises proposed may not be needful to many readers, or may require too much thought and research, there is a large proportion of the notes that will interest all readers, being illustrative not only of ancient opinions, persons and events; but of some striking features of Bacon's own times.

In preparing this work a free use has been made of Archbishop Whately's edition, and especially of his learned and sensible 'Annotations,' some of the most valuable portions of which have been introduced; not so much because they illustrate the text; for this seems not to have been their design, but because they furnish most excellent supplementary matter; as Bacon did not intend to present an exhaustive view of the subjects treated, but only to jot down prominent and suggestive thoughts, or hints. Devey's Edition, also, has contributed important aid; but beyond these, it has been found necessary to resort to many other sources of information, so that the meaning, the force and the beauty of the Essays might be made perfectly plain to the ordinary reader.

But the greatest aid, in understanding the Author, has been derived from the Latin Edition of the Essays prepared by Lord Bacon, with the aid, it is said, of some learned contemporaries; and frequent extracts have been introduced which throw a flood of light on many passages that would otherwise remain dark or uncertain, while other extracts are adduced to show that Bacon often thought, and expressed himself, more accurately in Latin than in his vernacular. This may be

accounted for perhaps by the consideration that nearly all, if not all, his published writings were written in Latin, and for the perusal of Continental and English scholars; so that he was greatly accustomed to think and write in Latin, and had a special motive for writing it with care; and moreover he has left on record his belief that the Latin language would be read while there were any books to be read, but that modern languages would "at one time or another play the bankrupt with books;" and hence he concluded that if he did not enshrine his thoughts in a dead language, his name would not be long remembered even among his own countrymen. "Haunted by this desolating notion" (says D'Israeli), "that there was no perpetuity in English writings, he rested not till his own were translated by himself and his friends, Jonson and Hobbes, and Herbert; and often enlarging these Latin versions, some of his English compositions remain, in some respect, imperfect, when compared with those subsequent revisions in the Latin translations." Little did Bacon anticipate the wide-spread glory which the English language and its literature were destined to achieve in the progress of two centuries and a half, and the vast augmentation of the number of the intelligent readers of that language and literature, especially on our own shores.

It was first designed to print none of the *Essays* except those which are annotated; but, on reflection, it has been judged expedient to print them all—for several reasons. The work will then be complete, and thus be better fitted for the Library. All the essays, moreover, possess intrinsic interest and value. By printing these remaining essays a larger amount of material is afforded for the comparison of one with another, and they are

presented without note or comment, for the exercise of the critical powers of the student and for personal research, in preparing philosophical and explanatory notes and analysis, similar in design and utility to those which have been appended to the other Essays.

The Sketch of the Life and Character, and of the Philosophical Writings of Bacon, has been chiefly derived from Macauley's brilliant and learned article on Montagu's Edition of his Works; from Dr. Kuno Fischer's able work on the Philosophy and Times of Bacon; in part also from Devey's Introductory Essay, Hallam's Literature of Europe, and Craik's and MacFarlane's History of England.

Should the present work be favorably received, it may be followed by another, on a similar plan, but embracing selections from several English Prose Classics of the Seventeenth Century, sufficiently large to enable the student to realize the spirit and manner of each author, and to warm into sympathy with him, and to extend his acquaintance with the style, the phraseology, the learning, the genius, the intellectual might and activity of the great writers of that age. It will be of no small advantage, as already hinted, by the careful annotation of such works as those which have been referred to on a previous page, to furnish a key to the best volumes of the seventeenth century, which to multitudes are now virtually closed, or comparatively of little use.

To vindicate the wisdom and importance of the literary labor performed in this volume, and projected for a future volume, or volumes, it ought to be sufficient, not only to consider what has been said above, but to read, in addition, the remarks of the scholarly Henry Hallam upon the merits of Bacon's Essays, as worthy

of a place in the course of educational studies. He writes:—‘ *It will be somewhat derogatory to a man of the slightest claim to polite letters, were he unacquainted with the Essays of Bacon. It is indeed little worth while to read this or any other book for reputation's sake, but very few [books] in our language so well repay the pains, or afford more nourishment to the thoughts. They might be introduced, with a small number more, into a sound method of education: one that should make wisdom, rather than mere knowledge, its object, and might become a text book of examination in our Schools.*’

The critical judgment of Prof. James Beattie, of the University of Aberdeen; of Henry Hallam (just quoted), the great historian of European Literature; of T. B. Macauley, the brilliant essayist, learned critic, and accomplished historian; also of Archbishop Whately, and of Prof. Dugald Stewart, the philosophic metaphysician of Edinburgh, concerning the character and merits of the Essays of Bacon, will be found under the head of ‘Critical Estimates,’ to which the reader is referred.

Since writing the above, the Editor, in the course of his reading, has met with an able lecture delivered to the Young Men's Christian Association in London, by the eloquent Rev. Thomas Binney; in which there are some observations that fall in so naturally with those presented in the beginning of the Introductory Note, and which show so clearly the importance of the object which is sought to be attained in the preparation of this volume, that he cannot deny himself the pleasure, nor his readers the advantage, of the quotation that follows:—

“ On an occasion like this, and considering who they

are whom I am anxious to serve, I think it proper to affirm and insist upon the fact, that it is quite possible for one who is a mere English scholar to write well—with force, purity, eloquence and effect. I have the highest idea of the importance of thorough classical culture; yet I assert that one who knows nothing but his own tongue, may (if he likes) learn to use it with far more effect than thousands of those *do* who have studied the languages, and read the masters and models of antiquity. There was a time when England had not much of a literature of its own, and did not sufficiently value what it had; then, partly from the fashion of the age, and partly from the necessities of the case, even ladies, if they read, or read much, had to read Latin and Greek, for thus only could great and good authors be reached. This reason, however, does not hold now. Whatever might be the benefit to English ladies of their learning the ancient tongues, it certainly is not necessary for them to do so, from the meagreness of their own literature—the want of thorough good English books. In like manner, there was a time when, if a man was to learn to write well, it was incumbent upon him to study the great writers of Greece and Rome—though even then he could not do much *in English* beyond what English writers had done before him, for no man can be very far beyond the style and fashion of his time. While the learned were writing for each other in Latin, English was gradually advancing upon them; it was getting moulded, improved, purified, enriched. It kept growing in strength, stature, compass, refinement; it forgot some words—it learned others; it got thoroughly formed, so that we have books in all possible styles of writing, to which every English reader has access, and by the study of which any one

may be disciplined in English authorship. He who will put himself under these masters, and do justice to their lessons and their examples may acquire power over his own tongue, ability to embody and adorn his thoughts, to an extent far superior to what *they* will possess who have enjoyed the advantages of a learned education, *if they have not gone and done likewise*. Whatever may be a man's acquaintance with other literature and other languages, to be attractive and classical as an *English* writer, *he must study English*; and England is now so rich in those who have used, or who use, her tongue, that he who knows only *that*, has ample means for learning so to speak in it, that the world shall listen—provided always that he has something to say. But even when a man *has* something to say, the “listening” will not follow, or not always, unless there be something also in his mode of saying it. That there may be this, he must work and toil—toil and work. He must make it an object. *He must labor upon style*. He must give hours, and days, and nights, to that. His style must be his own, and it must be natural and simple; but, to be his own, it must be formed by the study of other men's; and to be simple and natural, it must be gradually arrived at by long devotion to composition as an art.”

J. R. B.

GENEVA, N. Y.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF LORD BACON.

THE most prominent among the writers of English Prose Literature in the early part of the Seventeenth Century, is Francis Bacon, son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the great seal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Francis, the youngest son of Sir Nicholas, was born at York House, in the Strand, London, January 22d, 1561. When a boy, his health was delicate and his mind was grave and studious. Having access to the court, in consequence of his father's high position, it is said that his premature sobriety of deportment, united to precocity of wit, greatly amused the Queen, and led her often to call him her 'young Lord Keeper.' At twelve years of age, he produced some ingenious speculations on the arts of legerdemain, thus foreshadowing his future eminence in physical science.

In earlier years, inquisitiveness of mind displayed itself in breaking open the drums and trumpets that were bought for him, in order to discover whence came the sound which they gave forth; and he is said to have quitted the sports of the field to discover the cause of an echo in a neighboring vault. His mother, the daughter of a Tutor of Edward VI, was a woman of high culture, being familiar with the Latin and Greek languages, which ladies were then accustomed to learn, having but little of modern literature to study. She is said to have been also able to speak and to translate the French and the Italian, with ease and correctness. To her, therefore, we may suppose that Bacon was largely indebted for the literary and scientific turn given to his mind while yet in childhood, as well as for the pre-eminent abilities which he possessed.

In his thirteenth year, he became a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, then the noblest institution in England

But he was not satisfied with the course of studies there pursued, the natural sciences being quite neglected, and the time occupied too much with the scholastic subtleties of the middle ages, which he characterized as so much spider thread spun out of the brain of the scholastics, admirable for its fineness, but without any use or purpose in nature. He did not remain long enough at the University to receive his degree—having been there but three years—long enough, however, to acquire a great contempt for the pedantic trifles that occupied so unprofitably a large part of the time of English students in that and other English schools.

Before reaching the age of seventeen, he was sent by his father into France, being entrusted to the care of the Queen's ambassador, Sir Amias Paulet, who occasionally assigned him some offices of trust for the Queen. Three years were spent at Poitiers, and devoted to literary and scientific pursuits—the result of which was the writing of a portion of the *Essays*, and of *Notes on the State of Europe*—the latter being probably his first literary performance. At this time there raged in France a fearful controversy between the Huguenots and the Roman Catholics.

While thus engaged at Poitiers, he received the news (Feb. 20, 1579) of his father's death, and immediately hastened home. Finding his eldest brother in possession of his father's estate, and but a slender bequest left to himself, altogether inadequate to support him in a fitting style, he applied for political employment. But after repeated failures in his applications to his uncle, Lord Burleigh, the Prime Minister, he resolved to attain to high place by the path of the study and practice of the law. He entered Gray's Inn as a student, and devoted himself unremittingly to the duties of his chosen profession for ten or twelve years, at the end of which he had fully mastered the Common Law, and become familiar with every branch of Jurisprudence. Notwithstanding the most persistent appeals which he made to the Lord Treasurer, his uncle, for official position, he was obliged for years to put up only with evasions or direct denial. His uncle, though a man

of judgment and foresight, was yet a man of very slender liberality, or regard for intellectual merit. For it is said that he considered one hundred pounds too large a gratuity for Spenser's "Fairy Queen," which he denominated "a foolish old song."

After a while (having entered upon the practice of law), Bacon received the honorary appointment of Queen's Counsel extraordinary, and, later still, the lucrative position of Registrar of the Star Chamber. During this period, however, he did not neglect his scientific studies, but then drew up a sketch of his great work, *The Instauration of the Sciences*.

In 1593 he represented in Parliament the County of Middlesex, and distinguished himself as a skillful debater. In the language of Ben Jonson, "No man ever spoke more neatly, more pressly, more weightily. The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end." Here he made a strong speech on the popular side in opposition to the court, which brought down upon him the displeasure of the Queen, to appease which, he addressed her an apology of the most servile and submissive character.

The office of Attorney General becoming vacant, Bacon applied in vain to his uncle and cousin, the Cecils, to use their influence to procure his appointment to it. He then applied to Lord Burleigh's rival, Essex, who was a great favorite with the Queen, to secure it for him. Essex employed all his ardor and power to accommodate his friend, and yet having failed, he soothed Bacon's disappointment by generously presenting him with an estate at Twickenham, worth two thousand pounds, a large sum for those days. Such friendship and kind offices met, however, with a most ungrateful and shameful requital. As Chambers states, "When Essex was [afterwards] brought to trial for a conspiracy against the Queen, the friend whom he had so largely obliged and confided in, not only deserted him in the hour of need, but unnecessarily appeared as counsel against him, and by every act and ingenuity as a pleader, endeavored to magnify his crimes. He complied, moreover,

after the Earl's execution, with the Queen's request, that he would write *a declaration of the practices and treasons attempted and committed by Robert, Earl of Essex*, which was printed by authority. Into this conduct, which indicates a lamentable want of high moral principle, courage, and self-respect, Bacon was in some measure led by pecuniary difficulties into which his improvident and ostentatious habits, coupled with the relative inadequacy of his resources, had plunged him. By maintaining himself in the good graces of the court, he hoped to secure that professional advancement which would not only fill his empty coffers, but gratify those ambitious longings which had arisen in his mind. But temptations of this sort, though they may palliate, can never excuse such immoralities as those which Bacon on this and future occasions showed himself capable of."

It has been thought that Shakespeare, in his play 'As You Like It,' alluded to this transaction in the song of Amiens; and that Lord Bacon, who was living at the time, and who doubtless read the play, must have been keenly stung by the severe censure which it conveyed :—

"Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude;
Thy tooth is not so keen,
Because thou art not seen,
Although thy breath be rude.

"Freeze, freeze, thou bitter sky,
Thou dost not bite so nigh
As benefits forgot;
Though thou the waters warp,
Thy sting is not so sharp
As friend remembered not."

Here may with advantage be introduced the exceedingly able explanation which Dr. Fischer of Heidelberg, Germany, (in the *Philosophy and Times of Bacon*) furnishes of the noble and the ignoble sides of Bacon's Character and History :—

"What attached Bacon to Essex and Buckingham [to

whom reference will soon be made],—was not friendship, not sympathy, but motives of self-interest. They were men of the most powerful influence; the former was a favorite of Elizabeth, and the latter of James I. To rise in the offices of the state, Bacon desired and sought court favor; and this could not be obtained and preserved without such mediators. If he would become a man of consequence and accelerate his career, the favor of others was unfortunately a more effective expedient than his own intrinsic talent. If Bacon could not give up his practical aims, and vanish into a life of seclusion, repugnant to his nature, he must seek for assistance—totally distinct from his own talents—in the influence, protection, and patronage of others, and these he could not secure without courtly pliability—without becoming a serviceable tool in the hands of the powerful.”

“Here Bacon entered upon that hazardous and slippery path, which, though it brought him to the highest posts of honor, led him also into a multitude of perplexities and embarrassments, and at last caused his precipitate fall from the summit of prosperity to the depth of destruction. It was a hard and steep road that Bacon had to travel, as he rose from the poor barrister, to the Keeper of the Seals and Lord Chancellor of England; from the unwearied suppliant, to Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Alban. Nor did he find any difficulty in accommodating himself to the windings of the path, and in sacrificing so much of his moral independence as circumstances required. Nature had not formed him of stubborn material. He was easy and pliant to the highest degree—made on purpose to guide himself by the course of circumstances, of which he took a very clear view. The *temporibus servire* corresponded to his natural temperament, and to the tone of his philosophy, of which the fundamental principle was to follow the times by a mode of thought really conformable to the times. Altogether, Bacon did not regard life with the conviction that it was a problem of eternal import, to be solved according to a moral rule, but rather as a game that could only be won by quickly devised and judicious tactics. His ambition was of a yield-

ing kind, and his natural honesty came often into collision with his political shrewdness. To-day, in conformity with his own convictions, he delivered a patriotic speech in Parliament against the subsidies, and having thus offended the Queen he did all he could to appease her wrath. He repented that he had made the speech; and we may be fully convinced that he felt unfeigned sorrow on account of an impolitic act that was so much in the way of his plans. On another occasion he toiled to save the man who had been his benefactor, but when he saw the Queen's good graces were at stake, he allowed his friend to fall, having only sought his favor because he had been the favorite of the Queen. He always stooped as soon as he saw that he might knock his head by keeping it upright. This spectacle of so great a mind in such a wavering and undignified condition is far from edifying; but even here we may find a trait that accompanies Bacon's character through all his wanderings, that belongs to his peculiarities, and has its foundation in his inmost nature;—I mean an extraordinary facility in helping himself under any circumstances, in passing over the difficulties of a route, and hurrying on as if nothing of any moment had occurred, as if no mark of evil were left in his track. Hence it was that the man who excelled all others in intellectual power, and imprinted a new form of mind upon his age, at the same time presented a soft material capable of receiving the impression from any hand that happened to be powerful. This elastic power constitutes the type of his individuality, in which all his politics, his virtues as well as his foibles, harmonize with each other. Here we can perceive that his character is consistent with itself. From this point we explain the peculiar turns of his life, his vicissitudes, even his extreme aberrations.

"Bacon possessed all those qualities which have a right to shine in society; he united the weighty with the light, not by deliberate act, but by dint of natural grace. His command over words was perfect, both in public orations and in private converse. But this very power which in

science and in social life finds so brilliant and lofty an expression, acquires quite another aspect when its acts are of a *moral* kind; the moral element is for such a form of individuality the most uncongenial and the most dangerous. There is *no elastic morality*; and Bacon's moral nature was as elastic, as facile, as completely directed towards practical ends, and as compliant with circumstances as his intellect. Here is the perceptible harmony of his character, which has often escaped notice, or (as in the case of Mr. Macaulay), missed altogether. We see in Bacon's moral character, as compared with his intellect, not a distinct being, but only the shadow of his individuality, which grew larger as its substance increased in power and importance. Indeed, when we see the general corruption by which such a character was surrounded, we can scarcely wonder that it fell into sad perplexities and aberrations. His love was a cool inclination, his hatred a cool dislike. It was easy for him to abandon and even to persecute a fallen friend for the sake of gaining royal favor, or to contract a marriage which offered no charm but wealth. Violent passions were as alien from his heart as the fallacies which he termed "idols," were alien from his intellect. We thus have a thorough explanation of the saddest episode of Bacon's life — of the part which he played as counsel for the crown against the Earl of Essex. It was a collision, not between duty and inclination, but between selfishness and friendship. He really made every effort to save Essex without danger to himself. When, under the government of James I, the friends of Essex regained their influence, Bacon did everything to obliterate the memory of this proceeding. He assured the Earl of Southampton [the friend of Essex], on his liberation, that the change of the throne had wrought in him no other change than this, 'that he could be *safely* that to him now which he had *truly* been before.' In these few lines, Bacon has depicted himself with the most naive candor."

Burleigh, in the defence of his own conduct in refusing his nephew's reiterated requests for court favor, had dis-

paraged before the Queen and others Bacon's legal attainments and abilities. This roused the latter to counteract the opinions of Burleigh on this subject, by writing a treatise upon the elements and use of common law, applying the inductive mode of reasoning to jurisprudence, in reaching the platform of legal rules and maxims through a gradual series of particulars. The publication of his *Essays* about the same time gave him notoriety and reputation with the public as a writer. But (says Devey), 'Authorship brought in nothing but fame in those days. To rid himself of embarrassment, so irksome to a man of genius, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve his affairs by marriage. Lady Hatton, the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Cecil, and early relict of the son of Chancellor Hatton, was the beauty at whose shrine Bacon ventured to offer up his first vows. But the rich widow had unfortunately possessed herself of a copy of Bacon's *Essays*, and finding therein love described as an ignoble passion, fit only for base and petulant natures, she ascribed his professions of attachment rather to her money than to her person, and rejected his suit. This disappointment was the more severely felt as the young lady capitulated to a rival, his sworn antagonist, Sir Edward Coke, a crabbed old lawyer, with six children, and stricken with infirmities.'

When James ascended the throne, Bacon lost no time in endeavoring to gain his favor. The King, however numerous his faults and deficiencies, has the credit of being an admirer of men of genius, so that the application of Bacon to receive the honor of knighthood was granted, on the coronation day, to him and to two hundred and ninety-nine other gentlemen. During the reign of this monarch Bacon advanced rapidly in his fortunes. In 1604 he received the appointment of King's Counsel, with a handsome fee and pension; in 1607 he was appointed Solicitor-General, and in 1612 Attorney-General. In 1616 (through the influence of Buckingham) he was made Counsellor of State, in 1617 Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and in 1618 Lord High Chancellor of England. In Parliament he made great

exertions to carry into effect a measure on which the King's heart was set—the union of England and Scotland. In the midst of all those public engagements, he contrived to devote a portion of his time and energies to scientific investigations and writings. His treatise on “*The Advancement of Learning*,” appeared in 1605, and was afterwards extended and published under the title of *Novum Organum*, the work on which his great fame as a philosopher is built. In the ‘Advancement of Learning’ (says Mr. Devey) ‘he reviewed the state of the sciences, pointed out the obstacles which had obstructed their progress, and suggested sage and practical hints for their entire renovation. The eloquent wisdom he displayed in the survey, had a marvellous effect in reviving a zeal for science in every part of Europe, and in enlarging the domain of knowledge; so that if Cæsar’s complaint to Cicero be worth any thing, in extending the limits of human wit he obtained a glory greater than that of enlarging the boundaries of the Roman world.’

Bacon first appeared in public as a writer of *Essays*. The volume, quite small at first, was afterwards greatly enlarged, and honored by a most favorable reception. It was soon translated into Latin, French and Italian, and brought the writer into high repute as a literary man. An enlarged and greatly improved edition was printed in 1612. About this time he was engaged in preparing one of his most important and useful works—that which he called “The reducing and recompiling of the laws of England.” He sought the amendment of the civil law, and the reform of the Statute-Book, by extracting from the confused mass of reports a series of sound and consistent decisions. He also induced the King to appoint Reporters, who should prepare, and print by authority, such decisions of the courts as were of a useful character, so as to guard against the publication of crude and contradictory cases.

Yet, as Macauley affirms, he was at this very time engaged in perverting those laws to the vilest purposes of tyranny, as in the case of Oliver St. John before the Star Chamber, and of an aged clergyman of the name of Peacham, who was

accused of treason for some passages contained in a sermon which, whether written by him or not, had never been preached. In the absence of other evidence to convict him, he was put to the rack, and was then examined by Bacon, but no confession of guilt could be extorted from him; yet upon most futile charges being convicted, he was consigned to prison for the short remainder of his life. In this base transaction Bacon showed himself to be even behind his age. "He was," says Macauley, "one of the last of the tools of power who persisted in a practice the most barbarous and the most absurd that has ever disgraced jurisprudence—in a practice, of which, in the preceding generation, Elizabeth and her ministers had been ashamed—in a practice which, a few years later, no sycophant in all the Inns of Court had the heart or the forehead to demand."

It seems a contradiction in terms to assert that Bacon was behind his own age; but Macauley thus admirably explains in what sense and in what character alone he showed himself to be behind his age:—"Those who survey only one half of character may speak of him with unmixed admiration or with unmixed contempt. But those only judge of him correctly who take in at one view Bacon in speculation and Bacon in action. They will have no difficulty in comprehending how one and the same man should have been far before his age and far behind it; in one line the boldest and most useful innovators, in another line the most obstinate champion of the foulest abuses. In his library, all his rare powers were under the guidance of an honest ambition, of an enlarged philanthropy, of a sincere love of truth. There no temptation drew him away from the right course. Thomas Aquinas could pay no fees; Dun Scotus could confer no peerages; the 'Master of the Sentences' had no rich reversions in his gift. Far different was the situation of the great philosopher when he came forth from his study and his laboratory to mingle with the crowd which filled the galleries of Whitehall. In all that crowd there was no man equally qualified to render great and lasting services to mankind; but in all that crowd there was not a heart more

set on things which no man ought to suffer to be necessary to his happiness, on things which can often be obtained only by the sacrifice of integrity and honor."

Sir Edward Coke, long the rival of Bacon, being earnestly engaged, with a view to improve his fortunes, in securing to Sir John Villiers, a brother of the Duke of Buckingham, an alliance with a wealthy heiress, Bacon set himself with all his energy to oppose Sir Edward's scheme, lest his rival should thereby come again into court favor; but unwisely, in one of his communications, indulged in sarcasms against Buckingham. This enraged both the favorite and the king, so that Bacon was led to understand that his possession of the Great Seal depended upon the favor of Buckingham: upon which he made an humble and most cringing acknowledgment for proceeding as he had against the proposed marriage, without consulting the wishes of the king.

The reconciliation of Buckingham to Lord Bacon involved on the part of the latter an abjectness of submission in outward form also, which it is hard to credit. The gratitude expressed by the Lord Chancellor for such reconciliation in the following sycophantic letter, excites one's astonishment and pity:—"My ever best Lord, none better than yourself. Your lordship's pen, or rather pencil, hath pourtrayed towards me such magnanimity and nobleness, and true kindness, as methinketh I see the image of some ancient virtue, and not any thing of these times. It is the lines of my life, and not the lines of my letter, that must express my thankfulness; wherein, if I fail, then God fail me and make me as miserable as I think myself at this time happy by this reviver, through his majesty's singular clemency, and your incomparable love and favor."

According to Mr Devey: "The breach was not repaired without making the Lord Keeper sensible of the bondage into which he had fallen. Buckingham had a host of needy relatives to provide for. The king's finances were never in a flourishing state, and to satisfy their clamors and supply his own extravagances, he fell upon the old device of *patents* and *monopolies*. These were certain charters granted under

the great seal, enabling a few individuals to retain the manufacture of particular articles of trade in their own hands, and arming them with exorbitant powers to break open and ransack any house in which they suspected an illicit manufactory to be carried on. In Elizabeth's reign, such powers had been extensively exercised, but the enormities to which they led raised such an outcry in the nation as alarmed the queen, and compelled her to revoke the charters. Since that time Bacon had manifested some respect for the feelings of the people, and even declaimed against this mode of plundering them in his "Advice" to Buckingham. He now found it necessary to stultify his own lessons, and that at the command of his pupil. As fast as the ingenuity of the favorite could devise patents, Bacon hurried them under the great seal of England, and a band of monopolists was armed with warrants to rob the public, in consideration of handing over to Buckingham a share of the pillage. The people's sense of justice was outraged by an attempt to pass off plated copper wire for silver lace at more than the ordinary price, and an outcry was immediately raised against Sir John Villiers, Sir Giles Monpesson—supposed to be the original of Messenger's Sir Giles Overreach—and Sir Francis Monpesson—his Justice Greedy—who were the principals in this nefarious transaction. James referred the case to the decision of his Chancellor, who, after a decent delay, pronounced the patent to be decidedly beneficial, on the ground of affording employment to the poor."

The account which Dr. Fischer gives of this and subsequent transactions, will be read with interest. He says:—

"The circumstances amid which Bacon lived as a powerful and likewise complaisant tool, caused his natural venality to take the grossest form of bribery, and to be heightened to actual crime. There was nothing in his moral disposition that he could oppose to such pernicious agencies. He subjected himself and his high position as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, to the power and influence of a courtier. Because Buckingham exercised the strongest influence over the king, so was his influence irresistible to

Bacon. It was impossible to renounce the support of the influential courtier, and as little could Bacon guide the inconsiderate man by his own superior views. He therefore yielded to him, and became an accomplice in the wrongful acts by which Buckingham enriched himself, allowing him to grant patents for hard cash and sell monopolies, which did manifest injury to the country. What was still worse, he tolerated the interference of the royal favorite in his own judicial acts, and the decisions which he subscribed often emanated from Buckingham. Bacon knew well enough that corruption of the legal tribunals is one of the worst evils that can befall a state; nevertheless he allowed the Crown and its officers to interfere in suits, and to secure the favor of the judges for itself or its clients; he actually *did* that which, with his own correct views, he never should have permitted; he allowed himself to be bribed, and sold his decisions. By these illegal means he is said to have gained a rich booty; his enemies estimated his spoils at 100,000 pounds. This rapacity did not arise from grovelling avarice, but from a reckless love of magnificence. Bacon, as far as his own person was concerned, was moderate and abstemious; but he liked to keep up a magnificent establishment and make a brilliant figure in society. Luxury offered fascinations which he could not resist; his vast expenditure exceeded his means, and thus he loaded himself with a weight of debt which he could lighten only by means of unlawful and unjustifiable gains. Here Bacon and his fortunes appear in a truly pitiful light, namely, with the stamp of mere vulgar recklessness upon them. It appears that he always had a taste for immoderate luxury."

"The fate of Bacon came upon him as the Nemesis of some hero of antiquity. It allowed him to rise to the highest pinnacle of felicity, that it might thence strike him down with rapid and terrific blows. In a few moments the proud edifice of his fortune, the edifice which he had carefully constructed with the toil of years, lay before him a disgraceful ruin. Under James I. he had, by favor of that monarch, mounted the highest steps of the State ladder. [These have been

already noticed.] His vacations he devoted to a Tusculan leisure at Gorhambury, where he occupied himself with literary labors and gardening. Here he kept up a scientific intercourse with several persons, including Thomas Hobbes, whose vocation it was to carry out the Baconian philosophy, and whom Mr. Macauley terms the "most vigorous of human intellects." When on the summit of his political career, he was further elevated, with great ceremony on the part of the Court, to the dignities of Baron of Verulam and Viscount St. Alban. He held the highest state office in England; and the publication of his *chef-d'œuvre*, the "*Novum Organum*," in 1620, stamped him as the first philosophical writer of Europe. This was the moment when Bacon stood upon the culminating point of power and felicity, and was justly respected and admired by the whole world."

"Three days after his investment with the title of Viscount St. Alban had taken place with all solemnity, a new Parliament assembled. The public grievances were discussed—the selfish and mischievous grants of monopolies and patents, and, above all, the abuses in the law courts. The House of Commons elected a Committee to investigate these abuses. On the 15th of March, 1621, the President of the Committee reported that the person against whom the charges were brought was no less a person than the Lord Chancellor himself, "a man," he added, "so endued with all parts of nature and art, that I will say no more of him, being not able to say enough." The prosecution was carried on; the cases of bribery became more and more numerous; the articles of the charge were twenty-three in number. A copy of them was sent to Bacon, that he might defend himself; and at last, all evasion being impossible, he sent to the House of Lords a written answer, which opened thus:—"Upon advised consideration of the charge, descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account so far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myself upon the grace and mercy of your lordships." Overwhelmed with shame, the unhappy man shut himself up in his room, and

when a deputation of the lords waited upon him, he besought them "to be merciful to a broken reed." His confession of guilt was dictated not so much by contrition as by policy, for the King, who could not save him, advised him to declare himself guilty. He was sentenced to imprisonment during the King's pleasure, to a fine of 40,000 pounds, with the additional punishment that he was to be "forever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the state or commonwealth; and never to sit in Parliament, nor come within the range of the Court." The sentence was more severe than the judges, who felt both admiration and pity for the offender; indeed it was only carried into execution so far as form required. After an imprisonment of no more than two days he was liberated by the King, the other penalties were also remitted, and he might have even resumed his seat in the House of Lords in the next session of Parliament. However, he did not again make his appearance in public life, but passed the remainder of his days in solitary devotion to science among the woods of Gorbambury."

The more full and particular account that follows of what was said and done by Bacon previous to the passing of sentence upon him, is exceedingly interesting, as illustrating the artful, sycophantic and pliant character of the man, in this trying emergency:—"He first sent in to the House of Lords his submission and confession in general terms. He said 'it came from a wasted spirit and oppressed mind, from the midst of a state of as great affliction as a mortal man might endure, honor being above life. Still (he continued) he found gladness in some things; first, that hereafter the greatness of a judge or magistrate shall be no protection to him against guiltiness, which is the beginning of a golden work; the next, that after this example it is like that judges will fly from any thing in the likeness of corruption, though it were at a great distance, as from a serpent—which tends to the purging of the courts of justice, and reducing them to their true honor and splendor. And in these two points (said he) God is my witness, though it be my fortune to be the anvil upon which these two effects are broken and wrought, I take

no small comfort.' He told the Lords, his 'judges, under God and his lieutenant' (the King), that he understood some justification had been expected from him, but that the only justification he would make should be out of Job, and that he should justify with Job in these words—'I have not hid my sin, as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosom.' He then proceeded :—'It resteth, therefore, that without fig leaves I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge that, having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the House, but enough to inform my conscience and memory, I find matter sufficient and full, both to move me to desert my defence and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me. Neither will I represent to your Lordships how far a defence might, in divers things, extenuate the offence in respect of the time and manner of the guilt or the like circumstances ; but only leave those things to spring out of your more noble thoughts and observations of the evidence and examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge, here and there, as God shall put into your minds, and to submit myself wholly to your piety and grace.' "

"Having, as he said, spoken to their Lordships as Judges, he would say a few words to them as Peers and Prelates, humbly commending his cause to their noble minds and magnanimous affections. He told them a story out of Livy, to show that the questioning of men in eminent places had the same effect as their punishment, adding :—'My humble desire is that his majesty would take the seals into his hands, which was a great downfall, and may serve, I hope, in itself, for an expiation of my faults.' He hoped that the Peers 'would behold their chief pattern, the King—a king of incomparable clemency, and whose heart is inscrutable for wisdom and goodness,—a prince whose like had not been seen these hundred years,—a prince who deserved to be made memorable by records of acts mixed of mercy and justice.' 'And yourselves,' continued Bacon, 'are nobles (and compassion ever beateth in the veins of noble blood), or reverend prelates, who are the servants of Him that would

not break the bruised reed or quench the smoking flax. You all sit upon a high stage, and therefore cannot but be sensible of the change of human conditions, and of the fall of any from high place.' He told them that corruption and bribery were the vices of the time, and that any reform would, in the beginning, be attended with danger. He reminded their Lordships of their noble feeling and loving affections towards him as a member of their own body, and concluded his remarkable letter with these words: "And therefore my humble suit to your Lordships is, that my penitent submission may be my sentence, the loss of my seal my punishment, and that your Lordships would recommend me to his majesty's grace and pardon for all that is past. God's holy spirit be among you all.' But the Lords were not satisfied with this submission, humble as it was, nor with his general and vague confession; and though they excused him from appearing as a criminal at their bar, they exacted from him a distinct confession of all the charges specifically brought against him. He then wrote and signed a confession of particulars; and to a deputation of the Lords who waited upon him, to know whether this paper was his own voluntary act, he said, with tears, 'It is my act, my hand, my heart. Oh, my Lords, spare a broken reed.' Our own hearts ache at this sad spectacle." *Craik's Hist. Eng.*, Vol. III, pp. 82, 83.

Before closing this Sketch of Bacon's Life and Character, it is but fair to offer something on the favorable side. Montagu, in his *Life of Bacon*, remarks:—"Bacon has been accused of servility, of dissimulation, of base motives, and their filthy brood of base actions, all unworthy of his high birth, and incompatible with his great wisdom, and the estimation in which he was held by the noblest spirits of the age. It is true that there were men in his own time, and will be men in all times, who are better pleased to count spots in the sun than to rejoice in its glorious brightness. Such men have openly libelled him, like Dewes and Weldon, whose falsehoods were detected as soon as uttered, or have

fastened upon certain ceremonious compliments and dedications, the fashion of his day, as a sample of his servility, passing over his noble letters to the Queen, his lofty contempt for the Lord Keeper Puckering, his open dealing with Sir Robert Cecil, and with others, who, powerful when he was nothing, might have blighted his opening fortunes forever, forgetting his advocacy of the rights of the people in the face of the court, and the true and honest counsels, always given by him, in times of great difficulty, both to Elizabeth and her successor. When was a 'base sycophant' loved and honored by piety such as that of Herbert, Tenison, and Rawley, by noble spirits like Hobbes, Ben Jonson, and Selden, or followed to the grave, and beyond it, with devoted affection, such as that of Sir Thomas Meantys?"

Montagu closes his sketch with observing that "there is no record that he abused the influence which he possessed over the minds of all men. He ever gave honest counsel to his capricious mistress, and her pedantic successor; to the rash, turbulent Essex, and to the wily, avaricious Buckingham. There is nothing more lamentable in the annals of mankind than that false position which placed one of the greatest minds England ever possessed at the mercy of a mean King, and a base court favorite."

On going into retirement, Bacon desired the King to direct him to some literary undertaking that might add to the lustre of his reign. Whereupon the History of Henry VII was proposed; and this Bacon executed in a masterly style, considering the poverty of historic materials in that reign. This was immediately followed by an enlarged edition of his Essays, and some small pieces. The next year, he published in a greatly expanded form his great work on "The Advancement of Learning." Having but small faith in the attainment of fame among his own countrymen, and in the English language, he set about the transference of his thoughts into the Latin language, to give them currency on the Continent, and to hand them down to posterity. He called for this purpose, to his assistance Herbert, Playfair and Ben Jonson,

in presenting his new treatise and his *Essays*, and some minor pieces, in the Latin language; but on comparing these with the "*Novum Organum*," originally written in Latin by himself, it would appear (it is said) that the assistance of the persons named above was of small account, or of positive detriment.

Bacon survived King James but about one year; yet that, as the previous ones, was assiduously devoted to the work of promoting the cause of natural science. 'Whatever' (says Macauley) 'might be his pecuniary difficulties or his conjugal discomforts, the powers of his intellect still remained undiminished. Those noble studies for which he had found leisure in the midst of his professional drudgery and of courtly intrigues, gave to this last sad stage of his life a dignity beyond what power or titles could bestow. Impeached, convicted, sentenced, driven with ignominy from the presence of his sovereign, shut out from the deliberations of his fellow nobles, loaded with debt, branded with dishonor, sinking under the weight of years, sorrow and disease, Bacon was Bacon still. In his will, he expressed, with singular brevity, energy, dignity and pathos, a mournful consciousness that his actions had not been such as to entitle him to the esteem of those under whose observation his life had been passed; and, at the same time, a proud confidence that his writings had secured for him a high and permanent place among the benefactors of mankind. So at least we understand those striking words which have been often quoted:—'For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and to the next age.' His confidence was just. From the day of his death (which occurred at Highgate, 9th April, 1626), his fame has been constantly and steadily progressive; and we have no doubt that his name will be named with reverence to the latest ages, and to the remotest ends of the civilized world."

Bacon's habits of study were severe. His long vacations (when in public life), and such hours as could be spared from his official duties, were passed in his library in hard

study, and it is said that he made notes of every thing important that he read, and arranged his papers under their appropriate heads of human knowledge. For general views he does not seem much indebted to books; he used them chiefly as models of style, and sources of illustration—not of instruction. Among the Latin authors, Tacitus was his favorite, and may have contributed to the singular terseness of his style, and to his perspicuity of remark upon the peculiarities of human nature. His use of Greek authors seems to have been, chiefly, through the medium of Latin translations. He was regarded as the best writer and speaker of his day, both by his enemies and his friends; but it is thought that a large measure of his contemporaneous fame was to be ascribed to his public position, princely mansion, and splendid entertainments. 'It was the possession of the great seal that made it fashionable to read what few could understand, pushed his works into circulation during an unlettered age, and gave him Europe for an auditory.'

"Whether then" (says Mr. Devey), "we consider moral admonitions, the highest philosophical achievements, practical civil wisdom, or the most splendid legal and forensic talents, the life and works of Lord Bacon stand, if not alone in the world, at least without their rival in modern annals. To the universality of this panegyric, Burke, who borrowed from him his sagest political observations, bears testimony: 'Who is there that, upon hearing the name of Lord Bacon, does not instantly recognize every thing of genius the most profound, every thing of literature the most extensive, every thing of discovery the most penetrating, every thing of observation on human life the most distinguishing and refined? All these must be instantly recognized, for they are inseparably associated with the name of Lord Verulam.' *Speech on Warren Hastings.*"

NOTE. It is suggested that the student prepare himself for an examination on the following topics of the preceding Sketch :—

1. Parentage and birth of Francis Bacon. Evidences of precocious genius. Anecdotes of his boyhood. Character of his mother. His course as a student at Trinity College. His journey to France, and his pursuits while there.

2. His reasons for engaging in the study of the Law. Treatment received from his uncle, Lord Burleigh? What official appointments did Bacon successively receive? Ben Jonson's eulogium upon Bacon? Bacon's connection with Essex, and his dishonorable conduct in reference to him? The occasion of Bacon's wrong-doing in this, and in other instances subsequently? Fischer's admirable analysis of Bacon's character and of his conduct in regard to Essex?

3. What grew out of Burleigh's disparagement of Bacon's legal attainments and capabilities? Bacon's disappointment in a marriage proposal?

4. Bacon's conduct towards King James. The favorable characteristic ascribed to the latter. His favor towards Bacon and others? The employments of Bacon's leisure hours at this period? The scope of his 'Advancement of Learning'? Its effect upon the cause of science in Europe. In what languages did Bacon's Essays appear? What legal work did he prepare, and what reforms in law proceedings did he introduce?

5. What abuse of law and of honor does Macauley charge upon him at this period? In what sense was Bacon before his age, and in what sense behind it? Contrast between Bacon in his library, and Bacon at Whitehall?

6. How Bacon incurred the displeasure of Buckingham? What danger to Bacon, Buckingham's displeasure involved? His bondage to Buckingham? What base and unworthy compliances did he descend to? Dr. Fischer's account of Bacon's corrupt conduct under Buckingham's influence? Whence Bacon's rapacity arose? The enviable outward position of Bacon just before his downfall? His latest honors? His arraignment—his sentence, and his conduct under the circumstances? Was his confession of guilt prompted by penitence? How far the sentence was carried into effect? What is the substance of Montagu's defence of Bacon's character?

7. On going into retirement, what literary works did he execute? Why did he give to most of his works a Latin dress? What imparted dignity to his last years? What mournful consciousness does his last Will discover, and what memorable and oft quoted words does it contain?

8. Bacon's habits of study? What use did he make of books? His favorite Latin author? His acquaintance with Greek authors? His standing as a writer and speaker? To what is his fame, as such, in part attributed? Devey's panegyric? Burke's also?

BACON'S PHILOSOPHICAL WRITINGS.

It does not fall within the scope of the present work to present a full and critical account of these writings, and yet a general notice of them cannot be omitted. The subject has its difficulties, and, to be fully understood, prolonged and careful study must be employed. Some of the best writers differ greatly in their views and estimates; for example, Prof. Kuno Fischer of Heidelberg (in the *Philosophy and Times of Bacon*), and Mr. Macauley, in his famous Review of Montagu's Edition of Bacon's Works. It must be conceded, that, in the latter, great injustice has been done to the ancient philosophy, and that a far less discriminating and reliable analysis has been given of the Baconian philosophy than may be found in 'Hallam's Literature,' Vol. II, and yet it is a most fascinating production, and an extract will be given hereafter in praise of the grandeur of Bacon's intellect as displayed therein.

HALLAM, after speaking of the favorable reception which Bacon's philosophical writings, immediately after their publication, met with on the continent among scientific men, expresses a doubt whether he was adequately valued by his countrymen in his own time, or in the immediately subsequent period, and then adds:—"Under the first Stuarts, there was but little taste among studious men but for theology, and chiefly for a theology which, proceeding with an extreme deference to authority, could not but generate a disposition of mind, even upon other subjects, alien to the progressive and inquisitive spirit of the inductive philosophy. The institution of the Royal Society, or, rather, the love of physical science out of which that institution arose, in the second part of the seventeenth century, made England resound with the name of her illustrious Chancellor. Few now spoke of him without a kind of homage that only the

greatest men receive. Yet still it was by natural philosophers alone that the writings of Bacon were much studied. The editions of his works, except his *Essays*, were few; the '*Novum Organum*' never came separately from the English press. They were not even much quoted; for I believe it will be found that the fashion of referring to the brilliant passages of the '*De Augmentis*' and the '*Novum Organum*,' at least in books designed for the general reader, is not much older than the close of the last century. Scotland has the credit of having led the way; Reid, Stewart, Robison, and Playfair turned that which had been a blind veneration into a rational worship; and I should suspect that more have read Lord Bacon within these thirty [now sixty] years than in the two preceding centuries. It may be a usual consequence of the enthusiastic panegyrics lately poured upon his name, that a more positive efficacy has been attributed to his philosophical writings than they really possessed; and it might be asked whether Italy, where he was probably not much known, were not the true school of experimental philosophy in Europe; whether his methods of investigation were not chiefly such as men of sagacity and lovers of truth might simultaneously have devised. But, whatever may have been the case with respect to actual discoveries in science, we must give to written wisdom its proper meed. No books, prior to those of Lord Bacon, carried mankind so far on the road to truth; none have obtained so thorough a triumph over arrogant usurpation without seeking to substitute another; and he may be compared with those liberators of nations, who have given them laws by which they might govern themselves, and retained no homage but their gratitude."

Mr. MACAULEY indulges in a more laudatory and rhetorical declamation upon the surpassing influence and high character of Bacon as a philosophical writer. One or two paragraphs only will now be introduced:—

"To give to the human mind a direction which it shall retain for ages, is the rare prerogative of a few imperial spirits. It cannot, therefore, be uninteresting to inquire, *what was the moral and intellectual constitution which enabled Bacon to exercise so vast an influence on the world.* In the temper of Bacon—we speak of Bacon the philosopher, not of Bacon the lawyer and politician—there was a singular union of audacity and sobriety. Closely connected with this peculiarity of Bacon's temper, was a striking *peculiarity of his understanding.* With great minuteness of observation he had an amplitude of comprehension such as has never yet been vouchsafed to any other human being. The glance with which he surveyed the intellectual universe resembled that which the archangel, from the golden threshold of heaven, darted down into the new creation :

"Round he surveyed—and well might, where he stood
So high above the circling canopy
Of night's extended shade—from eastern point
Of Libra, to the fleecy star which bears
Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
Beyond the horizon."

The mode in which he communicated his thoughts was exceedingly peculiar. He had no touch of that disputatious temper which he often censured in his predecessors. He effected a vast intellectual revolution in opposition to a vast mass of prejudices ; yet he never engaged in any controversy ; nay we cannot at present recollect, in all his philosophical works, a single passage of a controversial character. All those works might with propriety have been put into the form which he adopted in the work entitled *Cogitata et Visa* : "Franciscus Baconus sic cogitavit." These are thoughts which have occurred to me ; weigh them well, and take them or leave them."

"Without disparagement to the admirable treatise, *De Augmentis*, we must say that, in our judgment, *Bacon's greatest performance* is the first book of the *Novum Organum*. All the peculiarities of his extraordinary mind are found there in the highest perfection. Many of the aphorisms, but particularly those in which he gives examples of the

influence of the *idola*, show a nicety of observation that has never been surpassed. Every part of the book blazes with wit, but with wit which is employed only to illustrate and decorate truth. No book ever made so great a revolution in the mode of thinking, overthrew so many prejudices, introduced so many new opinions. Yet no book was ever written in a less contentious spirit. Proposition after proposition enters into the mind, is received not as an invader, but as a welcome friend, and though previously unknown, becomes at once domesticated. But what we most admire is the vast capacity of that intellect which, without effort, takes in at once all the domains of science—all the past, the present and the future; all the errors of two thousand years; all the encouraging signs of the passing times; all the bright hopes of the coming age. Cowley, who was among the most ardent, and not among the least discerning followers of the new philosophy, has, in one of his finest poems, compared Bacon to Moses standing on Mount Pisgah. It is to Bacon, we think, as he appears in the first book of the *Novum Organum*, that the comparison applies with peculiar felicity. There we see the great Lawgiver looking round from his lonely elevation on an infinite expanse; behind him a wilderness of dreary lands and bitter waters in which successive generations sojourned, always moving, yet never advancing, reaping no harvest and building no abiding city; before him a goodly land, a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey."

The train of remark that follows, so far as the influential character of Bacon's philosophical writings is concerned, is not so favorable and ardent as that of Mr. Macauley, but it seems to be more worthy of credit and acceptance. It is from the History of England by *Craik* and *MacFurlane* (Vol. III, pp. 611, 612):—

"The originality of the Baconian or Inductive method of philosophy, the actual service it has rendered to science, and

even the end which it may be most correctly said to have in view, have all been subjects of dispute since Bacon's time, and still are; but, notwithstanding all differences of opinion upon these points, the acknowledgement that he was intellectually one of the most colossal of the sons of men, has been nearly unanimous. They who have not seen his greatness under one form have discovered it in another: there is a discordance among men's ways of looking at him, or their theories respecting him; but the mighty shadow which he projects athwart the two bygone centuries lies there immovable, and still extending as time extends. The very deductions which are made from his merits in regard to particular points thus only heighten the impression of his general eminence—of that something about him, not fully understood or discerned, which, spite of all curtailment of his claims in regard to one special kind of eminence or another, still leaves the sense of his eminence as strong as ever."

"As for his '*Novum Organum*,' or so called 'new instrument' of philosophy, it must be conceded that it was not really new when he announced it as such, either as a process followed in the practice of scientific discovery, or as a theory of the right method of discovery. In the latter sense it was at least as old as Aristotle; in the former it was as old as science itself. Neither was Bacon the first writer, in his own or the immediately preceding age, who recalled attention to the inductive method, or who pointed out the barrenness of what was then called philosophy in the schools. Nor was it he that brought the reign of that philosophy to a close; it was fast falling into disrepute before he assailed it, and would probably have passed away quite as soon as it did, although his writings had never appeared. Nor has he either looked at that old philosophy with a very penetrating or comprehensive eye, or even shown a perfect understanding of the inductive method in all its applications and principles. As for his attempts in the actual practice of the inductive method, they were either insignificant, or utter failures; and that too, while some

of his contemporaries, who in no respect acknowledged him as their teacher, were turning it to account in extorting from nature the most brilliant revelations. Nay, can it be doubted that, if Bacon had never lived, or never written, the discoveries and the writings of Galileo, and Kepler, and Pascal, and others who were now extending the empire of science by the very method which he has explained and recommended, but most assuredly without having been instructed in that method by him, would have established the universal recognition of it as the right method of philosophy just as early as such recognition actually took place?"

"That Bacon's 'Novum Organum' has, down to the present day, affected in any material degree the actual progress of science, may be very reasonably doubted. What great discovery or improvement can be named among all those that have been made since his time, which, from the known facts of its history, we may not fairly presume would have been made at any rate, though the 'Novum Organum' had never been written? What instance can be quoted of the study of that work having made, or even greatly contributed to make, any individual a discoverer in science, who would not in all probability have been equally such, if he had never seen or heard of it? In point of fact, there is no reason to suppose that very many of those by whom science has been most carried forward since it appeared, had either deeply studied Bacon's 'Novum Organum,' or had ever acquired any intimate or comprehensive acquaintance with the rules and directions therein laid down from other sources. Nor is it likely that they would have been more successful experimenters or greater discoverers if they had; for there is nothing in any part of the method of procedure prescribed by Bacon for the investigation of truth that would not occur of itself to the sagacity and common sense of any person of an inventive genius pursuing such investigation; indeed every discovery that has been made, except by accident, since science had any being, must have been arrived at by the very processes which he has explained.

"There can be little doubt that it would be found, on a

survey of the whole history of scientific discovery, that its progress has always depended partly upon the remarkable genius of individuals, partly upon the general state of the world and the condition of civilization at different times, and not in any sensible degree upon the mere speculative views as to the right method of philosophy that have at particular eras been taught in schools, or books, or otherwise diffused. In fact it is much more reasonable to suppose that such speculative views should have been usually influenced by the actual progress of discovery than it by them; for the recognition of sound principles of procedure, in as far as that is implied in their practical application, though not perhaps the contemplation and exposition of them in a systematic form, is necessarily involved, as has been just observed, in the very act of scientific discovery. All this being considered, we cannot attribute to Bacon's 'Novum Organum' any considerable direct share, nor even much indirect influence, in promoting the progress which science has made in certain departments since his time. We think that progress is to be traced to other causes altogether, and that it would have been pretty nearly what it is, though the 'Novum Organum' never had been written.

"*Galileo, and not Bacon, is the true father of modern natural philosophy.* That, in truth, was not Bacon's province at all; neither his acquirements nor the peculiar character and constitution of his mind fitted him for achieving any thing on that ground. The common mistake regarding him is the same as if it were to be said that not Homer, but Aristotle, was the father of poetry, although his own mind was one of the most unpoetical that ever existed. *Bacon belongs not to mathematical or natural science, but to literature and to moral science in its most extensive acceptation,—to the realm of imagination, of wit, of eloquence, of æsthetics, of history, of jurisprudence, of political philosophy, of logic, of metaphysics and the investigation of the powers and operations of the human mind.* For this last in reality, and not the investigations of nature, is the subject of his 'Novum Organum' and his other writings

on the advancement of human knowledge. He is in no respect an investigator or expounder of mathematics, or of mechanics, or of astronomy, or of chemistry, or of any other branch of geometrical or physical science (his contributions to natural history are not worth regarding); but he is a most penetrating and comprehensive investigator, and a most magnificent expounder of that higher philosophy, in comparison with which all these things are but a mere intellectual sort of legerdemain. All his works, his Essays, his philosophical writings, commonly so called, and what he has done in history, are of one and the same character: reflective, and, so to speak, poetical, not simply demonstrative, or elucidatory of mere matters of fact."

"What then is his glory?—*in what did his greatness consist?* In this, we should say:—that an intellect at once one of the most capacious and one of the most profound ever granted to a mortal—in its powers of vision at the same time one of the most far-reaching—was in him united and reconciled with an almost equal endowment of the imaginative faculty; and that he is, therefore, of all philosophical writers, the one in whom are found together, in the largest proportions, depth of thought and splendor of eloquence. His intellectual ambition, also,—a quality of the imagination—was of the most towering character; and no other philosophic writer has taken up so grand a theme as that on which he has laid out his strength in his greatest works. But with the progress of scientific discovery that has taken place during the last two hundred years we conceive these works to have had hardly any thing to do. His 'Advancement of Learning' and his 'Novum Organum' appear to us to be *poems rather than scientific treatises*; and we should almost as soon think of fathering modern physical science upon Paradise Lost as upon them."

"Perhaps the calmest and clearest examination of Bacon's philosophy that has yet appeared, is that given in one of Mr. Hallam's volumes on the History of European Literature; it forms one of the ablest portions, if not the very ablest, of that great work. Mr. HALLAM's estimate of what Bacon

has done for science is much higher than ours ; but yet the following passage seems to come very near to the admission of, or at least very strongly to corroborate, all that we have just been stating :—‘ It is evident that he had turned his thoughts to physical philosophy rather for an exercise of his reasoning faculties, and out of his insatiable thirst for knowledge, than for any peculiar aptitude for their subjects, much less any advantage of opportunity for their cultivation. *He was more eminently the philosopher of human than general nature.* Hence he is exact as well as profound in all his reflections on civil life and mankind, while his conjectures in natural philosophy, though often very acute, are apt to wander far from the truth, in consequence of his defective acquaintance with the phenomena of nature. His ‘ Centuries of Natural History ’ give abundant proof of this. He is, in all these inquiries, like one doubtfully, and by degrees, making out a distant prospect, but often deceived by the haze. But if we compare what may be found in the sixth, seventh and eighth books ‘ De Augmentis,’ in the ‘ Essays,’ the ‘ History of Henry VII,’ and the various short treatises contained in his works, on moral and political wisdom, and on human nature, from experience of which all such wisdom is drawn, with the Rhetoric, Ethics, and Politics of Aristotle, or with the historians most celebrated for their deep insight into civil society and human character—with Thucydides, Tacitus, Philip de Comines, Machiavel, Davila, Hume—we shall, I think, find that one man may almost be compared with all of these together. When Galileo is named as equal to Bacon, it is to be remembered that Galileo was no moral or political philosopher, and in this department Leibnitz certainly falls very short of Bacon. Burke, perhaps, comes of all modern writers, the nearest to him ; but, though Bacon may not be more profound than Burke, he is still more copious and comprehensive.’ ”

The paragraph (somewhat too eulogistic, perhaps) with which we conclude the Strictures upon the character and

influence of Bacon's Philosophical Writings, is from DEVEY's Introduction to the Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon :—

"The human mind had never been so profoundly stirred since the times of Archimedes and Aristotle, as on the day when this mighty magician spoke. The wheels of science which had stood still for two thousand years, impelled by his breath, began to move, and the spirit of Europe was evoked on all sides to impart to them accelerated velocity. Pascal and Torricelli, guided by his rules, established the properties of air, and Newton in the spirit of his method, and directed by his hints, threw back the curtain of the heavens, revealed the laws of light, explained the phenomena of the tides, and peopled space with worlds. Nurtured in his school, Boyle transformed hydrostatics from a loose assemblage of facts into a deductive science; Watt constructed the steam engine, which has annihilated space and economized the labor of millions; and Franklin rivalled the glories of the ancient Prometheus, in snatching the electric fire from heaven! Human reason, unshackled and independent, took her bent from his hands; and learned societies in every part of Europe, either rose up at his name, or reconstructed their plans after his direction. The collective wits of the brightest of European nations—as little inclined as the Greeks to look out of themselves for excellencies—have paid homage to him as the Solon of modern science, and founded upon his partition of the sciences an Encyclopedia,* which was once the marvel and the glory of literature. The tribes of every age and nation regard the father of modern philosophy with the reverence and devotion of children; and so loud and universal has been the acclaim, that the testimony of our own epoch falls on the ear like the voice of a child closing the shout of a multitude. He has established a school in metaphysics which, whatever may be its defects, keeps alive a due attention to facts in a science where they

*The great French Encyclopedia, edited by Diderot and D'Alembert, was arranged upon his scheme of the sciences.

are too apt to be neglected; while nearly all the practical improvements introduced into education, statesmanship and social policy, may be traced in a great degree to the philosophic tone he gave to the introduction of the same element. The politicians and legists, as well as philosophers, moulded by his counsels, have placed themselves at the head of their respective sciences in Europe; and the pedantic tyrants and corrupt ministers, before whom he crouched, have been removed by the works which they patronized, and a monarchy rendered impossible, otherwise than as the personification of the organized will and reason of the nation."

NOTE. The following Topics are assigned to the Student, as matter for examination, upon the previous Strictures in regard to Bacon's Philosophical Writings :—

1. Hallam's account of the early reception of those writings, on the Continent and in England? What is said of the taste of studious men under the first Stuarts? What of the Royal Society? What of the editions of Bacon's works from the English press? When and where was the fashion introduced of eulogizing the *Novum Organum*? What is said of the readers of Bacon's philosophical writings? What of the efficacy of those writings in promoting scientific discovery?

2. What does Macauley say of the temperament of Bacon's mind? What of the peculiarity of his understanding? How does he illustrate this? What of the mode in which he communicated his thoughts? In what work has Bacon shown most brilliantly all the peculiarities of his genius? What does Macauley most admire in Bacon's intellectual greatness? To whom does he compare him?

3. What subjects of dispute since Bacon's time are said to have prevailed? What remark is made upon the Title and claims of the *Novum Organum*? The relation of Bacon's writings to the discoveries of such men as Galileo, &c.? What reasons for doubting whether Bacon's *Novum Organum*, even down to the present day, has affected in any material degree the progress of science. How far studied by men of science? On what chiefly has scientific discovery depended? The opinion expressed by Craik and McFarlane, in summing up their argument?

4. Whom do they pronounce to be the true father of modern natural philosophy? What was Bacon's province? What in reality was the subject of the *Novum Organum*? The precise character of all his writings? In what then did his greatness and glory consist? The bearing of his works on the progress of scientific discovery during the past two hundred years? By what name are the 'Advancement of Learning' and the '*Novum Organum*' designated?

5. Where are we to look for one of the calmest and clearest statements of Bacon's philosophy? What does Mr. Hallam say of the extent to which Bacon turned his thoughts to physical philosophy? Of what department was he pre-eminently the philosopher? In what does he excel Thucydides, Tacitus, Hume and others? What modern writer comes nearest to Bacon?

6. Describe the impulse which, according to Mr. Devey, Bacon gave to the human mind? What honored names in science and art felt the impulse of his genius? What compliment was paid to him by distinguished French philosophers? What besides improvement in metaphysical science may fairly be attributed to the influence of his various writings?

CRITICAL ESTIMATES OF BACON'S ESSAYS.

THE term 'Essay,' as applied to a particular form of literary production owes its origin to modesty. "Those sages of antiquity" (as Vicesimus Knox remarks), "who, from their improvements in knowledge and virtue, had the least dubious claim to the appellation of wise men, were yet too modest to assume a name which had the appearance of ostentation, and rather chose to be called Philosophers, or Lovers of Wisdom. From similar motives, many of the moderns, who have written with great skill on subjects of morality and science, have entitled their productions 'Essays:' a name which, though it may now convey the idea of regular treatises and dissertations, is synonymous with the word 'Attempts,' and means no more than humble endeavors to instruct or to amuse. Many works, though distinguished by this unassuming title, have been well received, and have obtained an exalted place in the scale of literary honors."

The early history of Essay-writing, as briefly given us by JAMES BEATTIE, the celebrated Scotch poet and philosopher, here finds a fitting place, and will be read with interest:—

"The popular Essay has flourished more in England than in any other country, but is not peculiar to England, some of Seneca's epistles being compositions of the same character. *The first series of popular and periodical essays that appeared in England*, the first at least of any great name, are those which we have under the name of the 'Tatler,' a paper of which the first number is dated in April 1709, and which was published thrice a week. It was projected and begun by Sir Richard Steele, who soon received a powerful coadjutor in Addison. The Tatler was followed by the 'Spectator,' one paper of which was published every morning, Sunday excepted, for about two years together. Steele and Addison were the principal writers of the Spectator

also, as well as of the 'Guardian' that succeeded it; but some materials were communicated by other authors, particularly Budgell, Pope, Lord Hardwicke, afterwards Chancellor of England, and Dr. Pearce, Bishop of Rochester. The next remarkable publication of this sort is the 'Rambler,' written by Dr. Johnson, and published on Tuesdays and Saturdays in 1750, 1751. This was followed by the 'Adventurer,' the work of Dr. Hawkesworth, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Watson, and others; and it was succeeded by the 'World.' All these, as well as the 'Idler,' by Dr. Johnson, and the 'Mirror' and 'Lounger,' which were written by Scotch authors, and have been very favorably received by the public, deserve an attentive perusal, as they contain much beautiful morality, sound criticism, delicate humor, and just satire on the follies of mankind. But of the whole set the Spectator seems to be the best; and of all our periodical writers, Addison, I think, deserves the preference, both for style and for matter. 'As a describer of life and manners, he must,' says Dr. Johnson, 'be allowed to stand perhaps the first of the first rank. His humor is so happily diffused as to give the grace of novelty to domestic scenes and daily occurrences. He never outsteps the modesty of nature nor raises merriment or wonder by the violation of truth. His figures neither divert by distortion, nor amuse by aggravation. He copies life with so much fidelity that he can hardly be said to invent; yet his exhibitions have an air so much original that it is difficult to suppose them merely the product of imagination. His prose is pure without scrupulosity, and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable, and always easy. Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.' "

"The *Essays of Lord Verulam* were among the first examples of the popular essay that appeared in England; and which, for sound philosophy and accurate observation, have not been exceeded, nor perhaps equalled. They deserve to be not only read but studied, being fraught with maxims of

wisdom, expressed with great energy, though not always elegance, of style. The author published them also in Latin, with the title of 'Sermones Fideles.' I know not whether any part of his works discovers greater force of mind, or a more original way of thinking, than his Essays. He says of them himself, and very justly, 'Although they handle those things wherein men's lives and their persons are most conversant, yet I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience, and little in books; so as they are neither repetitions nor fancies.' And in another place he expresses himself on the same subject thus: 'I do now publish my Essays, which of all my works have been most current, because, as it seems, *they come home to men's business and bosoms.*' He appears to have had a high opinion of these Essays: 'I do conceive,' he says, 'that the Latin volume of them (meaning the edition published in Latin), 'as it is the universal language, may last as long as books last.' 'I dedicate them to you' (says he to the Duke of Buckingham), 'being of the best fruits, that, by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labors, I could yield.' A work so much a favorite of the great Lord Verulam, is surely entitled to the attention of every lover of learning."

Thus far we have quoted from Professor Beattie. We now turn to the masterly production of HENRY HALLAM (his 'Literature of Europe'), and present his views of the work just referred to:—

"We can hardly refer Lord Bacon's Essays to the school of *Montaigne*, though their title may lead us to suspect that they were, in some measure, suggested by that most popular writer. The first edition, containing ten essays only, and those much shorter than as we now possess them, appeared in 1597. They were reprinted, with very little variation, in 1606. But the enlarged work was published in 1612, and dedicated to Prince Henry. He calls them, in his dedication, 'certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called 'Essays.' The word is

late, but the thing is ancient; for Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if you mark them well, are but *Essays*, that is, *dispersed meditations*, though conveyed in the form of epistles.' *The resemblance, at all events, to Montaigne is not greater than might be expected* in two men equally original in genius, and entirely opposite in their characters and circumstances. One, by an instinctive felicity, catches some of the characteristics of human nature; the other, by profound reflection, scrutinizes and dissects it. One is too negligent for the inquiring reader, the other too formal and sententious for one who seeks to be amused. We delight in one, we admire the other; but this admiration has also its own delight. In one we find more of the sweet temper and tranquil contemplation of Plutarch; in the other, more of the practical wisdom and somewhat ambitious prospects of Seneca. It is characteristic of *Bacon's philosophical writings* that they have in them a spirit of movement, a perpetual reference to what man is to do in order to an end, rather than to his mere speculation upon what is. In his *Essays* this is naturally still more prominent. They are, as quaintly described in the title page of the first edition, 'Places (loci) of persuasion and dissuasion'—counsels for those who would be great as well as wise. They are such as sprang from a mind ardent in *two kinds of ambition*, and hesitating whether to found a new philosophy or to direct the vessel of the state. We perceive, however, that the immediate reward attending greatness, as is almost always the case, gave it a preponderance in his mind, and hence *his Essays are more often political than moral*; they deal with mankind, not in their general faculties or habits, but in their mutual strife, their endeavors to rule others or to avoid their rule. *He is more cautious and more comprehensive, though not more acute, than Machiavel*, who often becomes too dogmatic through the habit of referring every thing to a particular aspect of political societies. Nothing in the 'Prince' or the 'Discourses on Livy' is superior to the *Essays on Seditions, on Empire, on Innovations, or generally those which bear on the dexterous management of a people by their rulers.*

Both these writers have what, to our more liberal age, appears a counselling of governors for their own rather than their subjects' advantage; but as this is generally represented to be the best means, though not, as it truly is, the real end, their advice tends, on the whole, to advance the substantial benefits of government."

Mr. Hallam proceeds to say:—"The transcendent strength of Bacon's mind is visible in the whole tenor of these Essays, unequal as they must be from the very nature of such compositions. *They are deeper and more discriminating than any earlier, or almost any later, work in the English language, full of recondite observation, long matured and carefully sifted.* It is true that we might wish for more vivacity and ease. Bacon, who had much wit, had little gayety. His Essays are, consequently, stiff and grave where the subject might have been touched with a lively hand. Thus it is in those on Gardens and on Building. The sentences have sometimes too apothegmatic a form, and want coherence. The historical instances, though far less frequent than with Montaigne, have a little the look of pedantry in our eyes. But it is from this condensation, from this gravity, that the work derives its peculiar impressiveness. Few books are more quoted, and, what is not always the case with such books, we may add, that few are more generally read. In this respect *they lead the van of our prose literature*, for no gentleman is ashamed of owning that he has not read the Elizabethan writers; but *it would be somewhat derogatory to a man of the slightest claim to polite letters were he unacquainted with the Essays of Bacon.*"

For the sake of preparing the student to enter upon the critical reading of these Essays, with still greater advantage, a few observations by MACAULEY, one of the most brilliant of English Essayists and Historians, will now be added:—

"*One of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of Bacon's mind, is the order in which its powers expanded themselves. With him the fruit came first, and remained*

till the last: the blossoms did not appear till late. In general the development of the fancy is to the development of the judgment, what the growth of a girl is to the growth of a boy. The fancy attains at an earlier period to the perfection of its beauty, its power and its fruitfulness; and, as it is first to ripen, it is also first to fade. It has generally lost something of its bloom and freshness before the sterner faculties have reached maturity, and is commonly withered and barren while those faculties still retain all their energy. It rarely happens that the fancy and the judgment grow together. It happens still more rarely that the judgment grows faster than the fancy. This seems, however, to have been the case with Bacon. His boyhood and youth appear to have been singularly sedate. His gigantic scheme of philosophical reform is said by some writers to have been planned before he was fifteen; and was undoubtedly planned while he was still young. He observed as vigilantly, meditated as deeply, and judged as temperately, when he gave his first work to the world, as at the close of his long career. But in eloquence, in sweetness, and variety of expression, and in richness of illustration, his late writings are far superior to those of his youth. In this respect the history of his mind bears some resemblance to the history of the mind of Burke. In his youth, Burke wrote on the emotions produced by mountains and cascades; by the masterpieces of painting and sculpture; by the faces and necks of beautiful women, in the style of a parliamentary report. In his old age he discussed treaties and tariffs in the most fervid and brilliant language of romance. It is strange that the 'Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful,' and the 'Letter to a Noble Lord,' should be the productions of one man. But it is far more strange that the Essay should have been a production of his youth, and the Letter of his old age."

"We will give very short specimens of Bacon's two styles. In 1597 he wrote thus:—'Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use—that is a wisdom without

them, and won by observation. Read not to contradict, nor to believe, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, have a present wit; and if he read little, have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise, poets witty, the mathematics subtle, natural philosophy deep, morals grave, logic and rhetoric able to contend.' It will hardly be disputed that this is a passage to be 'chewed and digested.' We do not believe that Thucydides himself has any where compressed so much thought into so small a space."

"In the additions which Bacon afterwards made to the 'Essays,' there is nothing superior in truth or weight to what we have quoted; but *his style was constantly becoming richer and softer*. The following passage, first published in 1625, will show the extent of the change:—'Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer evidences of God's favor. Yet, even in the Old Testament; if you listen to David's harp you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath labored more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distates; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground. Judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odors, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed; for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.'"¹

To understand the *precise literary character of Bacon's Essays*, it will be of service here to quote a paragraph from ARCHBISHOP WHATELY's edition of them, premising that he

has in it made large additions, under the title of "Annotations," to what Bacon has said on several subjects, and that he is here defending himself against the imputation of presumption in making such additions. He adds:—

"It is necessary to call attention to the circumstance that the word ESSAY has been considerably changed in its application since the days of Bacon. By an *Essay* was originally meant—according to the obvious and natural sense of the word—a slight sketch, to be filled up by the reader: brief hints, designed to be followed out: loose thoughts on some subjects, thrown out without much regularity, but sufficient to suggest further inquiries and reflections. Any more elaborate, regular, and finished composition, such as in our days often bears the title of an Essay, our ancestors called a *treatise, tractate, dissertation, or discourse*. But the more unpretending title of 'Essay' has in great measure superseded those others which were formerly in use, and more strictly appropriate. I have adverted to this circumstance because it ought to be remembered that an Essay, in the original and strict sense of the term—an Essay such as Bacon's, and also Montaigne's—was designed to be suggestive of further remarks and reflections, and, in short, to *set the reader a-thinking* on the subject. It consisted of observations loosely thrown out, as in conversation; and inviting, as in conversation, the observations of others on the subject. With an Essay, in the modern sense of the word, it is not so. If the reader of what was designed to be a regular and complete treatise on some subject (and which would have been *so entitled* by our forefathers) makes additional remarks on that subject, he may be understood to imply that there is a deficiency and imperfection—a something *wanting*—in the work before him; whereas, to suggest such further remarks—to give outlines that the reader shall fill up for himself—is the very object of an Essay, properly so called—such as those of Bacon. A commentary to explain or correct, few writings need less; but they admit of and call for expansion and development. They are gold ingots, not needing to be gilt or polished, but

requiring to be hammered out in order to display their full value."

"*He is throughout, and especially in his Essays, one of the most suggestive authors that ever wrote.* And it is remarkable that, compressed and pithy as the Essays are, and consisting chiefly of brief hints, he has elsewhere condensed into a still smaller compass the matter of most of them. In his 'Rhetoric' he has drawn up what he calls 'Antitheta,' or common places, 'locos,' i. e. *pros and cons*—opposite sentiments and reasons, on various points, most of them the same that are discussed in the Essays. It is a compendious and clear method of bringing before the mind the most important points in any question, to place in parallel columns, whatever can be plausibly urged, fairly or unfairly, on opposite sides; and then you are in the condition of a judge who has to decide some cause after having heard all the pleadings."

These 'Critical Estimates' will be rendered more complete by subjoining one more—from the pen of the philosophical and scholarly DUGALD STEWART, of the University of Edinburgh:—

"In Bacon's Essays the superiority of his genius appears to the greatest advantage; the novelty and depth of his reflections often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of the subject. The volume may be read from beginning to end in a few hours, and yet after the twentieth perusal one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before. This, indeed, is a characteristic of all Bacon's writings, and is only to be accounted for by the inexhaustible aliment they furnish to our own thoughts, and the sympathetic activity they impart to our torpid faculties."

Without endorsing the disparaging judgment pronounced therein upon the Essays of Mr. Macauley, the Editor will bring to a close these Estimates of Bacon's Essays, by copying a paragraph from the able Lectures of the late Professor HENRY BRED, designed to show that the improvement of

taste and judgment will be secured by a familiarity with the writers of different periods of English Literature :—

“Let us take a practical example ; and I turn for the purpose to the department of English *Essay-writing*, in which the mind of our race has found utterance in several centuries. During the last few years there has been a large multitude of readers for Macauley’s Essays—brilliant, showy, attractive reading. But what assurance can any one of that multitude, who is unacquainted with other productions in the same class of books, have, in his admiration of these Essays? How can he be assured that they are going to endure in our literature, and that their attractions are right-ful attractions? I myself believe that they will prove perishable, because the pungency of a period, and the dazzling effects of declamation are, to Mr. Macauley, dearer at least than faith and charity. The admirer of his Essays may think otherwise ; but whether he be right or wrong, he is not entitled to form a judgment unless he has disciplined his power of judging by the reading of other works of a kindred nature—kindred, I mean, in form, not in spirit. Let him, therefore, turn to the other Essay-writing of our own times, (and it has been a large outlet for the contemporary mind,) the Essays of Southey, of Scott, of Washington Irving, the inimitable ‘*Elia*’ of Charles Lamb, or that thoughtful and thought-producing miscellany, the ‘*Guesses at Truth*.’ Then going back into other periods, and making choice of some of Dr. Johnson’s Essays in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and of Addison’s or Steele’s in the ‘*Spectator*’ and the ‘*Tatler*,’ in the early part of it, he will find his judgment enlarged by seeing how those generations dealt with this branch of letters. Traveling back a century earlier, let him take the single volume of Lord Bacon’s Essays, *in which thoughts and suggestions of thought move in such solid phalanx that every line is a study*. This is a simple rule for reading, and it may readily be practised ; and then bringing his acquaintance with the English essays of the last two hundred years, and the power of judgment which he has been at the same time unconsciously gaining, back to the

Macaulay Essays, and he will perceive that they are not what they used to be to him. A sense of enjoyment will indeed have passed away; but it will be because the reader has discovered elsewhere a deeper wisdom, a more tranquil beauty of thought and feeling and of expression, a fuller beat of the human heart. The flashing of the will-o'-the-wisp shall no longer mislead him, who turns his looks to the steady cottage candle-light quietly shining out into the darkness, or to the still safer guidance of the slow-moving stars." *Eng. Lit.*, Lect. II, pp. 59, 60.

NOTE. The student may profitably be called upon to pass an examination upon the following topics embraced in the 'Critical Estimates of Bacon's Essays':—

1. The origin of the use of the term Essay, applied to a form of literary composition. What analogous term was in use among Greek scholars? The synonyme of Essay, in its original application?

2. Dr. Beattie's sketch of the first series of popular Essays in England. The names of these in order, and their authors. Dr. Johnson's celebrated eulogium upon the writings of Addison.

3. What was the first example of the popular Essay in England? Dr. Beattie's judgment upon the Essays of Lord Verulam. What were the 'Sermones Fideles'? What does Bacon say of his own Essays, and what comparison does he institute between them and his other works?

4. The various editions of the Essays? What work may have suggested to Bacon the preparation of his Essays? Points of resemblance and difference between Bacon and Montaigne? The grand characteristic of Bacon's philosophical writings, and still more of his Essays. Description of the Essays in the Title page of the first Edition? The two forms of Bacon's ambition? Bacon compared with Machiavel? Hallam's critical judgment upon Bacon's Essays, as compared with other English productions? Faults attributed to them. What is necessary to a claim to polite letters?

5. One of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of Bacon's mind? The attributes of it in boyhood? Whose mind in its development resembles that of Bacon? In what productions is this shown?

6. Change of meaning in the word 'Essay' since the time of Bacon. The precise design of Bacon's and Montaigne's Essays? How does that design differ from the design of the modern Essay? Whately's critical judgment upon Bacon's Essays? What are the 'Antitheta' of Bacon?

7. Dugald Stewart's views of the Essays?

8. The advantage of an extensive range of reading? Prof. Reed's estimate of Macaulay's Essays? What other Essays does he regard as superior in merit, and in the probable duration of their popularity? What comparison is employed, to illustrate his opinion of their respective merits?

ESSAYS.

ESSAY I.

TRUTH.

ANALYSIS. Pilate's question. Free thinkers and free livers. Indifference to truth. Love of falsehood. How this is to be accounted for. Question discussed by one of the Grecian schools. Truth compared to daylight. Pleasure derived from a mixture of the false with the true. Poetry denounced by one of the fathers. The kind of lie that is injurious. What is said of the inquiries after truth, the knowledge of it, and the belief of it. The first and the last works of God at the Creation. Beautiful sentiment of one of the Grecian poets. Heaven upon earth. Truth in our dealings compared to gold and silver. The shame of being false and perfidious. The pretty saying of Montaigne. The highest expression of the wickedness of falsehood and perfidy.

WHAT is truth? said jesting Pilate, and would [1] not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that [2] delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief—affecting free will in thinking, as well as in acting; and though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits which are of the same veins, though there be not so

[1.] *What, &c*: Compare with *John* 18, 38: "Pilate saith unto him, what is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again among the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all."

Does Bacon put a right construction upon the incident here referred to?

much blood in them as was in those of the ancients.
[3] But it is not only the difficulty and labor which

Cowper in the Task, Book III, 270th, thus introduces the subject:

"The only amaranthine flower on earth
Is virtue, the only lasting treasure, truth.
But what is truth? 'twas Pilate's question put
To Truth itself, that deigned him no reply.
And wherefore? will not God impart his light
To them that ask it?—Freely; 'tis his joy,
His glory, and his nature to impart;
But to the proud, uncandid, insincere
Or negligent inquirer, not a spark."

That no answer was returned by our Saviour is here attributed by Cowper, not to the immediate departure of Pilate from his presence, thus giving him no opportunity to reply, but to the state of Pilate's mind, which was adverse to the reception of truth, at least of such truth as our Saviour had referred to.

In answer to Pilate's question, Cowper thus continues:—

What's that which brings contempt upon a book
And him that writes it, though the style be neat,
The method clear, and argument exact?
That makes a minister in holy things
The joy of many and the dread of more,
His name a theme for praise and for reproach?
That while it gives us worth in God's account,
Depreciates and undoes us in our own?
What pearl is it that rich men cannot buy,
That learning is too proud to gather up,
But which the poor and the despised of all
Seek and obtain, and often find unsought?
Tell me, and I will tell thee, what is truth."

Dean Alford, on the passage, writes thus: "Pilate had no ear for truth. His celebrated question is perhaps more the result of indifferentism than of scepticism; it expresses, not without scoff and irony, a conviction that truth can never be found, and is an apt representative of the state of the polite Gentile mind at the time of the Lord's coming."

Archbishop Whately's view of the matter is as follows:

"Any one of Bacon's acuteness, or of a quarter of it, might easily have perceived, had he at all attended to the context of

men take in finding out the truth ; nor, again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth

the narrative, that never was any one less in a *jesting* mood than Pilate on this occasion. He was anxious to release Jesus; which must have been from a knowledge of the superhuman powers of Him he had to do with. A man so unscrupulous as Pilate is universally admitted to have been, could not have felt any anxiety merely from a dislike of injustice and, therefore, his conduct is one confirmation of the reality of the numerous miracles Jesus wrought. They, and they only, must have filled him with dread of the consequences of doing any wrong to such a person, and probably, also, inspired him with a hope of furthering some ambitious views of his own, by taking part with one whom he (in common with so many others), expected to be just about to assume temporal dominion, and to enforce his claim by resistless power. He tries to make Him proclaim Himself a King; and when Jesus does this, but adds that his kingdom is not of this world, still Pilate catches at the word, and says, 'Art thou a King, then?' Jesus then proceeds to designate *who* should be his *subjects*: 'Every one that *is of the Truth* heareth my words:' as much as to say, 'I claim a kingdom not over the Israelite by race; not over all whom I can subjugate by force, or who will submit to me through fear or interest, but over the *votaries of truth*—those who are of the truth—those who are willing to receive whatever shall be proved true, and to follow *wherever* that shall lead.' And Pilate is at a loss to see what this has to do with his inquiry. 'I am asking you about your claims to empire, and you tell me about truth: What has truth to do with the question?'

Jesting: Give the synonymes and distinguish their meaning.

[2.] *Giddiness*: unsteadiness as to belief or opinions.

To fix a belief: to be bound by a fixed belief, or settled principles. *Affecting*, &c.: *liking* the use of free-will, &c.

"But this proud man *affects* imperial sway."—*Dryden*.

Discoursing: discourative, discursive, talking, communicative, rambling, ranging over a wide field. *Veins—blood*: Under these figurative terms, what is intended to be expressed?

bring lies in favor; but a natural though corrupt love [4] of the lie itself. One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the [5] lie's sake. But I cannot tell; this same truth is

[3.] Bacon (in his "Wisdom of the Ancients," p. 251) speaks of Democritus as complaining, that all things are abstruse; that we know nothing; that falsehood is strangely joined and twisted along with truth. *Imposest: restraint* is to be supplied—*layeth restraint* upon, &c. The Latin form, as given by Bacon, is 'Cogitationibus imponitur captivitas,' i. e. captivity is laid upon men's thoughts.

[4.] *One of the later schools:* that probably of the "New Academy," which discussed this very question of Pilate's, and whose conclusion was that men have no criterion by which to form a satisfactory judgment. *What should be in it:* Substitute an equivalent clause. *With poets:* i. e. as the lie of the poets. Does this refer to poets themselves, or to their productions? Is the word '*lies*' used in the same sense in reference to the poet, and to the merchant? *With the merchant:* i. e. the lie of the merchant. In how comprehensive a sense does our author use the word '*lie*'? Compare §§ 7, 8, 9.

[5.] The Latin translation presents the subject more clearly than the English original. Indeed Bacon seems to have a more perfect command of the Latin than of the English in many parts of these Essays. The connection of thought is more close and perfect. It is so in the present instance. 'Sed nescio quomodo, veritas ista (utpote nuda et manifesta lux diurna), personatas hujus mundi fabulas, ineptiasque non tam magnifice et eleganter ostendit, quam tædæ, lucernæque nocturnæ.' Which may be rendered: 'But, I know not how, that truth (as a naked and open daylight) does not show the dramatic plays and fooleries of this world so magnificently and elegantly as nocturnal lamps.' *Same:* What is the force of this adjective

a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masks, and mummeries and triumphs of the world, half

here? Point out the metaphor in this sentence. As the sentence stands in the text, what is the object of *tell*?

Masque: Give the synonyme. For example, 'Comus. A masque presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634.'

Under the classical name of *Ludi masqueradings* were frequently performed at the English court; and in the inventories of the time of Henry IV are found entries for suits of buckram and visors, to represent men, women, birds, beasts and angels, according to the capricious fancies of the wearers. These practices formed a usual portion of the national festivities at Christmas. At a later period these performances rose in dignity, possessing an intermediate character between the masque and the pantomime. These sports were especially cultivated by Henry VIII, and his favorite Wolsey, who found in them abundant opportunity to display their magnificence and taste. Sometimes, in an exhibition of this kind, a moving rock, or mountain, decorated with trees, flowers and herbage, slowly entered the hall, and, after remaining stationary for a few moments, opened and poured from its recesses a gay throng of knights and ladies, or allegorical personages, who danced and sang, or performed some interlude before the noble guests. After the play was ended the actors returned to their place of concealment, the gap closed, and the towering pageant, moving upon its hidden wheels, departed as it had entered. Besides these exhibitions, regular masquerades so early as the time of Henry VII began to form a court amusement, and in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, were carried to a high state of improvement. *Craik's Hist. Eng.*, Vol. II, pp. 255, 877. Compare the above with the note on § 16, Essay XIX.

Triumphs: public shows. Give the original and classic use of the word. *Daintily*: exquisitely, splendidly.

"The Duke exceeded in that his leg was *daintily* formed."—*Walton*.

The masques, &c.: An extract from Bacon's Essay on 'Masques and Triumphs,' may serve to throw some light on what he has here written: 'Let the scenes abound with *light*, especially *colored and mixed*; and let the masquers, or any other that are

[6] so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth

to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before coming down; for it draws the eye strangely and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that which it cannot perfectly discern. The colors that show best by candle-light are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green; and ouches or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned.'

It is reported that Bacon always manifested great fondness for splendor and pageantry, and every thing that could catch the eye and make a display of wealth and magnificence.

There is a passage in a recent volume of Mrs. Charles, entitled "The Draytons and the Davenants," which throws some light upon this part of Bacon's Essay. It is included in a conversation between two young girls, Olive Drayton and Lettice Davenant:—

"I cannot think what is not true, just because the sun shines and the birds sing," said I, "and I certainly cannot think any one good because they call me good, or goodness itself. How can I, Lettice? How can I believe a thing because I wish to believe it?"

"Truth, truth!" said she, a little petulantly, "truth and duty, and right and wrong, I wish those cold words were not so often on your lips. There are others so much warmer and more beautiful—nobleness and generosity, and loyalty and devotion—these are the things I love. I like sunshine, glowing morning and evening like rubies and opals, veiling the distance at noon with its own glorious haze. I hate always to see every thing exactly as it is, even beautiful things; and ugly things I never will see, if I can help it."

"I love to see everything exactly as it is," said I, "I want, and I pray, to see every thing as it is. And in the end I am sure that is the way to see the real beauty of every thing that is in the world. For God has made it, and not the devil. And therefore we need never be afraid to look into things. And I shall always think truth and duty the most beautiful words in the world." Pp. 185, 186.

best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. [7] Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out [8] of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great seve- [9]

[6.] *Come to the price, &c.*: Give an equivalent expression. *By day*: what is put in opposition to this? The meaning and appropriateness of *mixed lights*? Compare the corresponding expression in § 5. This sentence may be paraphrased thus:—As those things in which the generality of men delight, do not appear so well under the searching daylight of truth, as under the deceptive light—the dazzling glare of falsehood, truth is estimated of no greater value than the pearl; while falsehood is, in comparison, regarded as the diamond or carbuncle, which appears best under artificial light.

[7.] *Lie*: Give the synonyme.

[8.] *Doubt . . . but*: Correct this inelegancy of expression, now obsolete. *Imaginations as one would*: an elliptical expression for *imaginations [of things] as one would [have them]*. *But it would*: correct the inaccuracy. *And indisposition*: In some editions it reads *indisposition*. Which of the two readings is to be preferred? *Unpleasing*: What term would modern writers employ?

“How dare thy tongue
Sound the *unpleasing* news?”—*Shakespeare*.

[9.] ‘*Vinum dæmonum*’: ‘wine of demons’—*St. Augustine*. *Poesy*: The more common form? Which is nearest the original word?

“Music and *poesy* need to quicken you.”—*Shakespeare*.

The shadow of a lie: With what fitness is poesy so described? Bacon, in his “*Advancement of Learning*” also, introduces the remark of the same ancient father about poesy, adding, ‘as

rity, called poesy '*vinum dæmonum*,' because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a [10] lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it, that [11] doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge

indeed it begets many temptations, desires and vain opinions.' Force of the phrase *shadow of a lie*? Compare with next sentence.

[10.] *But, &c.*: Change the sentence so as to avoid the unpleasant repetition of this word. *The lie that sinketh, &c.*: The force of this expression? Compare § 8.

[11.] This is a good example of the periodic sentence, where the sense is not complete until the close. *Howsoever*: in the more obsolete sense of *although*.

"The man doth fear God, *howsoever* it seems not in him."—*Shakespeare*.

Truth: The figure of speech here employed? 'Truth' is used with some latitude of meaning; but the fundamental idea is, agreement with fact or reality, with what is, has been, or shall be. It is also applied to the statement of something that possesses such an agreement. *Which only, &c.*: The meaning of this will be discovered from the definition just given. *Inquiry of truth*: search for, seeking the possession of truth. The implied comparison in the beautiful language that follows? Is the simple knowledge of truth sufficient for men's highest good?

The love-making or wooing of it: This implies (says Whately) that first step towards attaining the establishment of the habit of a steady, thorough-going adherence to it in all philosophic, and especially religious, inquiry—the strong conviction of its value. To this must be united a distrust of ourselves. Men miss truth more often from their indifference about it, than from intellectual incapacity. It is in a determination to 'obey the truth,' and to follow wheresoever she may lead that the genuine love of truth consists; and this can be realized in

itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it; is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the [12] works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work, ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First he [13] breatheth light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breatheth light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect, that [14]

practice only by postponing all other questions to that which ought ever to come foremost—'what is truth?'

[12.] A good example of the 'balanced sentence,' where the different clauses of a compound sentence are similar in construction. So is the next sentence.

Of the days: Where do you find the record? The three kinds of light here mentioned? *Light of reason:* What other beautiful expression is used to convey the same idea? Compare § 13. The inspired record says:—"The Lord God formed man out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."—*Genesis* 2, 7.

[13.] *His chosen:* true Christians. *Inspireth light, &c.:* How is this done? *Breatheth and inspireth:* tautological, yet allowable on the principle that the breathing in this instance is thus emphasised, as being productive of nobler results.

[14.] *The poet:* Lucretius. He was a philosophical Roman poet of a noble family; studied at Athens, where he adopted the principles of the Epicurean philosophy, and acquired afterwards great celebrity by his brilliant but atheistic poem, entitled 'De Natura Rerum,' and designed to illustrate the atomic theory of the universe. Dr. Mason Good published in 1805 a translation of this great poem, with valuable notes, and says: "It is a fact no less remarkable than true, that the in-

was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well, "It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in

ductive method of Bacon, part of the sublime physics of Newton, and various of the chemical discoveries of our own days, were to a surprising degree anticipated, as to their principles, and many important results, by the philosophical poet of Rome." He was the greatest ornament of the sect whose doctrines he expounded—"that beautified the sect, &c."

The sect: the Epicureans, the founder of which sect died B. C. 270, having spent his last thirty years in teaching his philosophy at Athens. It makes pleasure the chief end of life and the standard of virtue. According to it, the wise man is one who holds himself open to all the pleasurable sensations which the temperate indulgence of his ordinary appetites, the recollection of past enjoyments, and an anticipation of future, are sufficient abundantly to furnish. It attempted to show that the apprehensions which beset mankind, of death, of the power and anger of the gods and the like, are wholly unfounded. The greatest defect of the system, is the attempt to account for all the appearances of nature, even those which respect animated and intelligent beings, upon the simple principles of matter and motion, without introducing the agency of a Supreme Intelligence, or admitting any other idea of fate than that of blind necessity inherent in every atom by which it moves in a certain direction. Hence he leaves unexplained those appearances of design which are so manifest in every part of nature, and absurdly supposes that the eye was not made for seeing, nor the ear for hearing. Besides, the idea which he gives of the nature of the gods, whose existence he admits, as similar to man, and of their condition, as wholly separate from the world, and enjoying no other felicity except that which arises from inactive tranquillity, falls infinitely short of the true conception of an intelligent Deity. See London Cyc. and Brande's Dictionary.

That beautified the sect that, &c.: an unpleasant recurrence of *that*. The clause will be improved thus:—"that beautified the sect otherwise inferior, &c." *Adventures:* hazards, bold performances.

"Thine is the adventure, thine the victory."—Dryden.

the window of a castle, and to see a battle, and the adventures thereof below ; but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists and tempests, in the vale below ;" so always that this prospect be with pity and not with swelling or pride. Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's [15]

Vantage-ground : advantageous ground—a place or position which gives one an advantage. *Commanded* : controlled, or overtopped.

"Up to the eastern tower,
Whose high commands, as subject, all the vale,
To see the sight."—*Shakespeare*.

So: provided. "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength."—*Milton*. *Turn upon the poles, &c.* : To what is allusion here made ?

The above passage from Lucretius is not so much a translation as a paraphrase of the original, which literally is thus rendered :—" 'Tis a pleasant thing, from the shore, to behold the dangers of another upon the mighty ocean, when the winds are lashing the main ; not because it is a grateful pleasure for any one to be in misery, but because it is a pleasant thing to see those misfortunes from which you yourself are free ; 'tis also a pleasant thing to behold the mighty contests of warfare, arrayed upon the plains, without a share in the danger ; but nothing is there more delightful than to occupy the elevated temples of the wise, well fortified by tranquil learning, whence you may be able to look down upon others and see them straying in every direction, and wandering in search of the path of life.'

[15.] *It is however, &c.* : Bacon in his Essay on "Simulation and Dissimulation," says :—"Dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom—for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it—therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers."

mind move in charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

[16] To pass from theological and philosophical truth

Upon which Whately thus remarks:—"What Bacon says of the inexpediency of all insincere proceedings is very true. Nothing but the right can ever be the expedient, since that can never be true expediency which would sacrifice a greater good to a less,—'For what shall it *profit* a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?' It will be found that all frauds, like the 'wall daubed with untampered mortar,' with which men think to buttress up an edifice, tend to the decay of that which they are devised to support. This truth, however, will never be steadily acted upon by those who have no moral detestation of falsehood. It is not *given* to those who do not prize straight-forwardness for its own sake to perceive that it is the wisest course. A knave does not find out till too late,

'What a tangled web we weave
When first we practice to deceive.'

'No one, in fact, is capable of fully appreciating the *ultimate expediency of a devoted adherence to Truth*, save the Divine Being, who is 'the Truth,' because He alone comprehends the whole of the vast and imperfectly-revealed scheme of Providence, and alone can see the inmost recesses of the human heart, and alone can foresee and judge of the remotest consequences of human actions.'"

The conversion of §15 from its present loose form to the periodic would add greatly to its force and beauty, thus:—"Certainly, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in Providence and turn upon the poles of truth, is a heaven upon earth." The melody of this sentence is greatly impaired by the alliteration, and especially the succession of monosyllables in the first clause. This may be improved thus:—"Certainly, to have one's soul move, &c."

[16.] *Truth of civil business*: truth shown or acted out in the business of life, in social intercourse. Round: fair, honest, candid.

"Let her be round with him."—*Shakespeare*.

"I will a round, unvarnished tale deliver."—*Shakespeare*.

to the truth of civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work better, but it embaseth it: for these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so [17]

It is remarkable that in modern times *square* is used in the place of *round*, to indicate the same moral quality.

Work, &c.: Equivalent expression? *Embaseth it*: Give the modern word that has superseded this. *For these, &c.*: What objection is there to the use of 'these' in this sentence? It should have been omitted.

[17.] *There is no vice, &c.*: This holds good (says Whately), when falsehood is practiced solely for a man's private advantage; but, in a zealous and able partisan, falsehood in the cause of the party will often be pardoned, and even justified.

There is, &c.: The opening of this sentence may be improved by abbreviation: 'No vice so covers a man, &c.'

The word of the lie: the being charged with telling a lie—the being declared a liar. *If, &c.*: *Essais* Liv. II, chap. 18.

Montaigne: (Michael de) a French writer, born in Perigord in 1533. His education in Latin and Greek was thorough; his celebrated Essays were published in 1580. He was distinguished for wit and subtlety, but was not free from vanity and conceit. He died in 1592. According to Hazlitt, Montaigne was the first among the moderns who adopted the Essay form of composition, and "may be said to have been the first who had the courage to say as an author what he felt as a man; and as courage is generally the effect of conscious strength, he was probably led to do so by the richness, truth and force of his own observations on books and men. He was, in the truest sense, a man of original mind; that is, he had the power of looking at things for himself, or as they really were, instead of blindly trusting to, and fondly repeating what others told him that they were. He did not, in the abstract character of an author, undertake to say all that could be said upon a subject,

cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious : and therefore Montaigne saith prettily (when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge), "If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men ; for a lie faces God and shrinks from man."

but what in his capacity as an inquirer after truth he happened to know about it. He was neither a pedant nor a bigot. He neither supposed that he was bound to know all things, nor that all things were bound to conform to what he fancied, or would have them to be. There is an inexpressible frankness and sincerity, as well as power, in what he writes. He has left but little for his successors to achieve in the way of just and original speculation on human life. Nearly all the thinking of the last two centuries of that kind which the French call *morale observatrice* is to be found in Montaigne's Essays : there is a germ, at least, and generally much more. He sowed the seed and cleared away the rubbish, even when others have reaped the fruit, or cultivated or decorated the soil to a greater degree of nicety and perfection. His Essays were translated into English by Charles Cotton, who was one of the wits and poets of the age of Charles II ; and Lord Halifax, one of the noble critics of that day, declared it to be "the book in the world he was the best pleased with." This mode of familiar Essay writing, free from the trammels of the schools and the airs of professed authorship, was successfully imitated about the same time by Cowley and Sir William Temple in their miscellaneous Essays, which are very agreeable and learned talking upon paper. See Hazlitt's Lectures, sec. v.

The following quotation is derived from the Essays of Montaigne :—"Lying is a disgraceful vice, and one that Plutarch, an ancient writer, paints in most disgraceful colors, when he says that it is 'affording testimony that one *first* despises God, and then fears men ;' it is not possible more happily to describe its horrible, disgusting and abandoned nature ; for can we imagine any thing more vile than to be cowards with regard to man, and brave with regard to God ?"

Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach [18] of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men ; it being foretold that when "Christ cometh," he shall not "find faith upon earth."

[18.] *As in that* : What words does modern usage require to be supplied ? \ *Foretold* : Luke 18, 8.

We cannot wonder that Bacon should write so positively and earnestly in this Essay against the violation of Truth, when we read the history of the times in which he lived and wrote. Thus, says the historian, 'among the many vices of the court of James I, if there were others more loathsome, there was none more universal [general], more habitual in it than insincerity. *Insincerity* is indeed the characteristic of all barbarous and semi-barbarous nations, and pre-eminently of all barbarous and semi-barbarous courts. Thus we meet with it in the court of Elizabeth as well as in that of James. But, nevertheless, we are less likely to meet with it in abundance at the court of a virtuous and manly prince than of a vicious and effeminate one. At the court of James, from the king on his throne to the court jester, all had alike discarded truth and sincerity as qualities they had no regard for. He who could not lie, and look in the face of him to whom he lied as if he were speaking the truth, was unfit to breathe in such an atmosphere. But in that atmosphere Charles Stuart first drew the breath of life ; in that atmosphere he passed his boyhood and his youth ; in that atmosphere he attained to manhood, at least to all of manhood he ever knew. *Craik's Hist. Eng., Vol. III, p. 500.*

1. The Essay just examined is not properly distributed into paragraphs. This is a matter that should be carefully attended to by every writer, who aims at being clearly and easily understood. New topics should be denoted by a new paragraph. Divide the above Essay into suitable paragraphs.

2. What remark is to be made as to the length of sentences in the previous Essay ?

3. What construction does Bacon put upon the extract from the Gospel ? Repeat the first extract from Cowper. Repeat the second extract as an answer to Pilate's question. Dean Alford's view ? Whately's also ? Comparison of Bacon's Latin with his English style ? Describe the *Ludi*.



See Alexander Smith
Essay in Latin 1897

ESSAY II.

DEATH.

A part of this Essay is borrowed from Seneca's Letters to Lucilius, B. IV, Ep. 24 and 82.

MEN fear death as children fear to go into the [1] dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the con- [2] templation of death, as the wages of sin and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in [3] religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and superstition. You shall read in some [4]

[1.] The balance of the first member of this sentence would be more perfectly secured by a slight change: 'Men fear death as children fear darkness.' *With tales*: In the Latin, 'fabulosis quibusdam terriculamentis,' i. e. 'by some fabulous scenes of terror' (or terrific stories). Does Bacon use the right preposition?

[2.] *Certainly*: It would be an improvement to say: 'It is true that the contemplation, &c.' *Wages of sin*: Rom. 6, 28. *Holy and religious*: In the Latin, 'pia est et salubris'—'is holy and salutary.' *Due to nature*: Paraphrase. *Is weak*: Paraphrase.

[3.] *Mixture*: What ellipsis here?

[4.] *Books of mortification*: What were these? *When many times, &c.*: Substitute an equivalent for *when*, and a better word. What objection to the use of *when* in this connexion? *Limb*: Is the semi-colon, that follows, the proper point?

Quickest of sense: Substitute a clearer and better form of expression. *And by*: Would it not be better here to begin

friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed, or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense; and by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, "*Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors* [5] *ipsa*." Groans, and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies, [6] and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy

a new sentence, or to substitute another connective in place of *and*? *Pompa, &c.*: i. e. 'the pomp of death (or the array of the death-bed), terrifies more than death itself.' This is Seneca's remark. *Natural man*: a man of ordinary feelings—of such feelings as are common to mankind.

[5.] *Blacks*: It is supposed that there is an allusion to a custom, prevalent in Bacon's time, of hanging the room in black where the corpse lay; or the word may mean *black dresses*. "That was the full time they used to wear *blacks* for the death of their fathers."—*North*. *Obsequies*: funeral observances. Formerly the word was used also in the singular, *obsequy*.

"Him I'll solemnly attend
With silent *obsequy* and funeral train."—*Milton*.

[6.] *Worthy the observing*: Improve the form of expression. *But it makes, &c.*: Give an equivalent expression. *Mates*: opposes itself to as equal, competes with.

"I, i' th' way of loyalty and truth
Dare *mate* a sounder man than Surrey can be."—*Shakespeare*.

Of him: An instance of ambiguity. Change the sentence so as to remove ambiguity. What *attendants* are referred to?

Of all the instances (says Whately) that can be given of recklessness of life, there is none that comes near that of the workmen employed in what is called *dry-pointing*—the grind-

the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over [7]

ing of needles and of table-forks. The fine steel dust which they breathe brings on a painful disease of which they are almost sure to die before forty. And yet not only are men tempted by high wages to engage in this employment, but they resist to the utmost all the contrivances devised for diminishing the danger; through fear that this would cause more workmen to offer themselves, and thus lower wages.

[7.] *Fear preoccupieth*: in some copies *pre-occupateth*, i. e. anticipates. Bacon is enumerating several passions that overpower the fear of death. He cannot, therefore, in this clause mean the fear of death, but the fear of some other apprehended evil which impels one to suicide. *We read, &c.*: Supply the proper word.

Otho: the 8th Roman emperor. The circumstances of his death are interesting. Otho had obtained three victories over Vitellius, who had revolted against him; but in a hard-fought battle near Bebricum on the Po, his forces were completely routed, an event which Tacitus attributes to the absence of Otho who, though not deficient in bravery, had been persuaded, for the security of his person, to retire before the battle to Brixellum. When informed of the result, he declined to contend any longer for the empire, and terminated his life by falling upon his sword, after a reign of about three months. His last moments were those of a philosopher. Amid the lamentations of his soldiers, he expressed a tender concern for their safety, observing that it was better that one man should die than that all should be involved in ruin on account of his obstinacy. *Provoked*: excited, moved. It formerly meant to move to any exertion or feeling, and not, as now, to anger only. Thus in the Bible version, 'Your zeal hath provoked very many,' i. e. moved them to liberality. 2 Cor. 9, 2.

Pity, &c.: The Chinese are said to be remarkably reckless concerning death; they seem to place but little value on their own lives. Several illustrations

death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief fieth to it; fear pre-occupieth it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest [8] sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness and satiety: "*Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus* [9] *potest.*" A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the [10] same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be [11] the same men till the last instant. Augustus

are given in a recent paper (1867) of which the following is one:—"Some years ago an accomplished young lady at Canton, who had been unfortunately married to a coarse and stupid husband, was bewailing her fate to a party of sisters and female cousins, and declared her intention of committing suicide. On this the other young ladies declared that, since such was married life, they would die too; and so the whole bevy of them joined hands together, and, walking into a fish pond, deliberately drowned themselves."

[8.] *Niceness and satiety*: Add the words necessary to be supplied. *Niceness* here bears the sense of fastidiousness, and *satiety* that of excess of gratification. *Cogita, &c.*: A free translation is given in the next sentence of the Essay. The literal translation is: 'Reflect how often you do the same things; a man may wish to die, not only because either he is brave or wretched, but even because he is surfeited with life.'

[10.] *Worthy to observe*: Give the modern form of expression. *For they*: a careless use of the pronoun, having nothing in the sentence to refer us to, except *spirits* or *approaches*, and to neither of these can it refer. Some words are then to be supplied after *make*. What are they? *Good spirits*: animation, cheerfulness, courage.

Cæsar died in a compliment: "*Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale.*" Tiberius in dissimulation, [12]

[11.] *In a compliment*: Supply the ellipsis. *Livia, &c.*: i. e. 'Livia, mindful of our wedlock, live on, and fare you well.'—*Suetonius*.

[12.] *Tiberius*: the Roman Emperor who succeeded Augustus. *Jam Tiberium, &c.*: 'Now his powers and bodily vigor abandoned Tiberius, but not his duplicity.' Tacitus, in his *Annals*, Bk. VI, 50, besides this, adds: "The same austerity still remained, the same energy and vigor of mind. He talked in a decisive tone; he looked with eagerness; and even at times affected an air of gayety. *Dissembling to the last*, he hoped by false appearances to hide the decay of nature."—*Murphy's Tacitus*. *Dissimulation*: Bacon has an Essay entitled 'Simulation and Dissimulation.' Whately remarks: "It is a pity that our language has lost the word 'simulation,' so that we are forced to make 'dissimulation' serve for both senses.

"Id quod abest, simulat, dissimulat quod adest."

That is, 'simulates that which is not; dissimulates that which is.' "

Vespasian, &c.: The Roman Emperor, having reigned ten years and gained the affections of his subjects, was attacked by a severe illness at Campania, and, believing it would be fatal, he exclaimed in the spirit of Paganism, 'Ut puto Deus fio:' 'I think I am going to be a god,' or 'I am become a Divinity, I suppose.' It has been plausibly suggested that this was said as a reproof to his flatterers, and in spirit is not unlike the rebuke administered by Canute to his retinue. *D.*

Feri, &c.: 'Strike if it be for the benefit of the Roman people. *Tacit. His. I*, 41. *Galba*: a Roman Emperor, upon the revolt of Otho, favored by his own soldiers, having heard a false report of Otho's death, rode into the forum in complete armor, attended by a few followers. From the opposite side a party of horse entered, that had been dispatched by Otho to destroy Galba, and rushed towards him, having trampled under foot the crowds of people that then filled the forum. As they came up to Galba, he bent forward his head, and with the greatest fortitude bid the assassins to take it off, if it were for the good of the people. This they instantly performed, and

as Tacitus saith of him, "*Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant.*" Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, "*Ut puto Deus fio;*" Galba with a sentence, "*Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani,*" holding forth his neck: Septimus Severus in dispatch, "*Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum,*" and the like.

[13] Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon

the head of the unfortunate emperor, being fixed upon the point of a lance, was presented to the atrocious Otho, who ordered it to be carried in contempt through the Roman camp, while the dead body was left exposed in the forum, until buried by one of Galba's slaves.

Septimus Severus: the Roman Emperor; died at York, England, A. D. 210.

In dispatch: in a business-like temper, and energy.

Adeste, &c.: 'Hasten if any thing remains for me to do.'—*Dio Cassius*, 78.

[13.] *Stoics*: A sect of Grecian philosophers, whose founder was Zeno, in many respects a very interesting and original character. The circumstances of his death indicate that he, at least, discovered nothing very terrible in death. At the age of 98, as he was walking out from his school, he fell, and in the fall broke one of his fingers. This proof of infirmity so affected him that, striking the earth, he said, 'why am I thus importuned? I obey thy summons;' and immediately went home and hanged himself. There seems to have been something in the teachings of this philosophy which *prepared* the mind even for suicide, as many of its illustrious disciples, such as Brutus, Cato and others hurried themselves into eternity. It inculcated most zealously that pain, since it does not belong to the mind, is no evil—that the wise man will be happy in the midst of torture. Lord Bacon seems to refer (in the expression '*bestowed too much cost upon death*') to the expenditure of ingenuity and talent displayed by the Stoical philosophers in preparing their followers to brave the terrors of death, and rush without hesitation even upon suicide. They taught that it is a man's duty to subdue himself—all his passions—and to approach a state of apathy; that he may justly and reasonably withdraw from life whenever he finds it expedient, not only because life and death are among those things which are in their

death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, "*qui finem vitæ* [14]

nature indifferent, but also because life may be less consistent than death with virtue. Virtue, they taught, should be made the grand object of research; other things were matters of indifference.

Adam Smith (in his 'Moral Sentiments') very ingeniously accounts for the prominence which the Stoics gave to the subject of death, by describing the peculiar circumstances of those times, when all the republics of Greece were at home almost always distracted by the most furious factions, and abroad involved in the most sanguinary wars, in which each sought not merely superiority or dominion, but either completely to extirpate all its enemies, or to reduce them to domestic slavery. Each man then, however exemplary, was ever in imminent danger of being condemned to the most cruel punishment. "As an American savage, therefore, prepares his death song, and considers how he should act when he has fallen into the hands of his enemies, and is by them put to death in the most lingering tortures, amidst the insults and derisions of all the spectators, so a Grecian patriot or hero could not avoid frequently employing his thoughts in considering what he ought both to suffer and to do in banishment, captivity, when reduced to slavery, when put to the torture, when brought to the scaffold. *It was the business of their philosophers to prepare the death song which the Grecian patriots and heroes might make use of on the proper occasions*; and of all the different sects it must, I think, be acknowledged, that the Stoics had prepared by far the most animated and spirited song."

[14.] Saith he: An instance of the carelessness of Bacon's style. The pronoun has no business in this place, which the noun should have filled, namely, that of Juvenal, the author whom he quotes, and who has painted in the strongest colors the hypocrisy and vices of the sect here referred to. Hence, it should have read: 'Better,' says Juvenal, '*qui finem, &c.*'

Lord Bacon here quotes from memory. The passage is in the tenth Satire of Juvenal, and runs thus:—

"Fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem,
Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ."———

[15] *extremum inter munera ponat nature.*" It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, per-[16] haps the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death; but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, "*Nunc dimittis*," when a man hath obtained worthy ends and [17] expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth

The translation of which is:—'Pray for strong resolve, void of the fear of death, that reckons the closing period of life among the boons of nature.' D.

[15.] *It is as natural, &c.*: Dugald Stewart remarks that the practical reflection which Bacon adds to the above censure of the Stoics is invaluable, and is strictly conformable to the spirit of the Stoical system, although he seems to state it by way of contrast to their principles. *Works*, Vol. V, 506.

[16.] *Dolours: pangs, anguish.*

"Of death and dolor telling sad tidings."—*Spenser*.

Nunc dimittis: The commencement of the Latin Vulgate version of Luke 2, 29, 32—the beautiful exclamation of the aged Simeon on being presented to the infant Saviour, for whom he had been ardently looking: "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people: a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel." It may be observed that the Scripture quotations introduced in the Essays are from the Latin Vulgate, or translations of that version.

[17.] *Extinctus, &c.*: 'When dead the same man shall be loved.' *Death hath, &c.*: Whately remarks that Bacon might have added that the generosity extended to the departed is sometimes carried rather to an extreme. To abstain from censure of them is fair enough; but to make an ostentatious parade

the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: "*Ex-
tinctus amabituridem.*"

of the supposed admirable qualities of persons who attracted no notice in their life time, and again (which is much more common) to publish laudatory biographies (to say nothing of raising monumental testimonials) of persons who did attract notice in a disreputable way, and respecting whom it would have been the kindest thing to let them be forgotten,—this is surely going a little too far.

1. Paragraph the Essay.
2. Assign a historical reason for so large an introduction of Latin quotations. Consult the Sketch of Life and Writings.
3. What sentence presents an elegant example of Personification?
4. Change the first clause of § 17 into modern phrase.
5. What sentences contain remarkable examples of ellipsis? and with what effect upon the style?
6. What two Grecian philosophical sects were rivals of the Stoics, and who were their founders?
7. Give synonyms for *contemplation and tribute* (3), *vanity and superstition* (3), *mortification*, and *quietest* (4), *weariness* (9), *alteration* (10), *compliment* (11), *dissimulation*, *jest*, *sentences*, *dispatch* (12), *canticle* (16).
8. What astonishing instances are given of recklessness of life?
9. Narrate the circumstances of the death of Otho, and of Galba.
10. The founder of the Stoics? The circumstances of his death? The peculiarity of the Stoical philosophy here brought to view? The circumstances of those times as stated by Adam Smith?
11. What feature of Bacon's style has been here remarked upon?
12. Point out obsolete words or phrases; or such as have become changed in meaning, since Bacon wrote.
13. Indicate the sentences that should be divided, and the changes to be made for this purpose.
14. Are there any instances of connectives being used when not necessary, or any instances in which a better connective may be suggested?
15. Write a paraphrase of the whole Essay, presenting each thought faithfully, and in accordance with the style of the present day.

ESSAY III.

UNITY IN RELIGION.

ANALYSIS. Religion, the chief bond of society. Quarrels and divisions about religion unknown to the heathen. How accounted for. General division of the subject—the fruits—the bonds—the means of unity. The fruits of church unity, twofold: in respect to those without, and to those within the church. Breach of church unity repels the former from the church to congregations of heretics, or to infidelity and atheism. The happy effects of unity within the church. Respecting the bonds of unity, two extremes are to be avoided—too rigorous, and too moderate demands as to uniformity of sentiment and outward observances. Two kinds of controversy in the church should be avoided—respecting very small things, and respecting things too high and obscure, and mysterious. Men who differ in words often really mean the same thing. Two false kinds of peace or unity. As to the means of procuring unity, the laws of charity and of human society are not to be violated. The offices of the spiritual and of the temporal sword are to be distinguished. Abuses of the sword instanced.

[1] **RELIGION** being the chief bond of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within

[1.] *Religion*: Give the different meanings, as laid down in Webster, and also the synonymes. The etymology (from *religare*, to bind again, or anew) throws light upon the sentiment expressed. *It is a happy, &c.*: Whately remarks that “the true bond of unity,” in the view of the Sacred Writers, does not mean agreement in doctrine, nor yet concord and mutual good will, nor that all Christians belong, or ought to belong, to some one society on earth. The Apostles founded Christian churches, all based on the same principles, all sharing common privileges, and all having the same object in view, but all quite independent of each other. And while, by the

the true bond of unity. The quarrels and divisions [2] about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen [8]

inspiration of him who knew what was in man, they delineated those Christian principles which man could not have devised for himself, each church has been left, by the same divine foresight, to make the application of these principles in its symbols, its forms of worship, and its ecclesiastical regulations; and, while steering its course by the chart and compass which his holy word supplies, to regulate for itself the sails and rudder, according to the winds and currents it may meet with.

[3.] *The religion of the heathen, &c.*: Upon this point the following remarks by Whately are important:—Bacon here notices *the characteristic that distinguishes the Christian religion from the religion of the heathen*. The latter not only was not true, but was not even supported as true; it not only deserved no belief, but it demanded none. *The very pretension to truth—the very demand of faith—were characteristic distinctions of Christianity*. It is Truth resting on evidence, and requiring belief in it, on the ground of its truth. And if Truth could be universally attained, Unity would be attained also, since Truth is one. On the other hand Unity may conceivably be attained by agreement in error; so that while by the universal adoption of a right faith, unity would be secured incidentally, the attainment of unity would be no security for truth. Hence the mistake of representing church unity as consisting in having one community on earth, to which all Christians belong, or ought to belong, and to whose government all are bound to submit, has led to truth being made the secondary, and not the paramount object. *Because*: Substitute a better word; otherwise, show how sentences [2] and [8] may be advantageously united. If the third be not united with the second, it should end with the first member, and the connective *for* should be omitted. *Constant*: Give the

synonymes, and decide upon the one most consonant with present usage. *Doctors*: teachers. So used in the common Bible version—‘Sitting in the midst of the *doctors*.’—Luke 2, 46. *Were the poets*: Thus writes old John Evelyn:—

“From the philosophers turn we to the poets, who were of old

consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers [4] of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture [5] nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bonds; and what the means. [6] The fruits of unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church; the other towards those

their divines and prophets. How frequent are raptures, invocations and sentences to our purpose! Witness their Orpheus, the most ancient; Hesiod, Homer, Menander, &c., of the Greeks; Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, &c., of the Latins, describing the creation of the world and the formation of man. Nay, the very loosest of the comedians, tragedians, satirists among the Latins, universally speaking of the Deity with all reverence; accusing and scourging the impieties of an evil age by their pious instructions, sentences, and encomiums of virtue." *Hist. of Relig.*, Vol. I, p. 6, 7.

[4.] *Jealous God*: So declared in the Second Commandment. *Ezod.* 20: 5. *Nor*: Is this correct?

[5.] A carelessly constructed sentence, which will be much improved by simply striking out *what are* and *what*, in the clauses wherein they occur.

[6.] *Fruits*: Give the synonyme. *All in all*: a scripture phrase. See 1 Cor. 15: 28; Col. 3: 11. Its meaning may be given here by the paraphrase, 'which is *all* that is important in *all* persons, and times, and circumstances.' It is hence equivalent to 'which is always supremely important, or a thing at all times most desirable.'

"Thou shalt be *all in all*, and I in thee
Forever."—*Milton*.

Two; Is the semi-colon the proper point?

that are within. For the former, it is certain [7] that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners; for as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual; so

[7.] *For the former*: What words are here to be preferred to for? *Of all others*: How may this clause be improved?

Scandals: Synonyme? *More*: Change this for a more appropriate word. *Solution of continuity*: dissolution of

cohesion, separation of connexion, sundering of connected parts, as in a fracture, or laceration of texture. *So that*: So

comes in badly after the same word in the previous clause. Substitute another for it. *Ecce in deserto*: 'Lo in the desert.'

Ecce in penetralibus: 'Lo in the private chambers.'—Mat. 24: 26. *Conventicles*: an opprobrious term

applied by High Churchmen to the congregations of non-conformists, or dissenters from the Established Church. 'A sort of men who . . . attend its [the Church of England's] service in the morning, and go with their wives to a *conventicle* in the afternoon.'—*Swift*. 'The old haunter of *conventicles* became an intolerant High-Churchman.'—*Macaulay*. *Outward*

face of a church: the external form of a church—a church that has no inward worth or vitality: a merely nominal church, destitute of spirituality. *Nolite exire*: 'Go not out.' How

may the entire sentence be advantageously divided into three?

In confirmation of Bacon's remarks in § 7, Whately observes that *among the more immediate causes of the stationary, or even receding condition of the Reformation for nearly three centuries*, may be mentioned *the contentions among Protestants*, who, soon after the first outbreak of the revolt from Rome, began to expend the chief part of their energies in contests with each other, and often showed more zeal and even fiercer hostility against rival Protestants, than against the systems and the principles which they agreed in condemning. The adherents of the Church of Rome, on the contrary, are ready to waive all internal differences, and unite actively, as against a common enemy, opposing the Greek Church, and all denominations of Protestants.

that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity; and therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, "*ecce in deserto*," another saith, "*ecce in penetralibus*;" that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, "*nolite exire*,"—"go not out." [8] The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, "If an heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?" and, certainly, it is little better: when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them "to sit down in the chair [9] of the scorers." It is but a light thing to be

[8.] *Doctor: Teacher*, referring to the Apostle Paul.

Propriety: property, peculiarity. Is the word used by Bacon now employed in the same sense as here? *Vocation: from*

vocare, to call. Paul was not self-appointed, but *called* by God to the work of the Apostleship. "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, *called* to be an Apostle." Rom. 1: 1; 1 Cor. 1: 1; Gal. 1: 1. *If, &c.: 1 Cor. 14: 23.* *It is little better:*

From this to the end of the sentence, there is a variance in the punctuation, in different editions. Is the punctuation given in the above text, correct, or should there be a comma after "better," and a semi-colon after "religion," and what reasons can be given for each mode of punctuation? *Avert: the*

Latinized form of the word, the modern form being *turn away*. 'To *avert* his ire.'—*Milton*. 'By *averting* them from their company.'—*Venn*. *To sit, &c.: Allusion to Psalm 1: 1.*

Convert § 8 into two sentences; then into three, and decide which is best. Compare them with the present form, in one sentence.

[9.] A new paragraph may here be made with advantage, in point of perspicuity. As it now stands, the *it* seems to refer

vouched in so serious a matter, yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing, [10]

to what had been said, and embarrasses the sense, and makes the sentence almost unintelligible; but by introducing a new paragraph the mind is led forward to § 10, as illustrating § 9, and the sense becomes plainer. Still the phraseology is so unlike that of the present day as to require much study in order to develop the meaning, which may be brought out most clearly, perhaps, in the form of a paraphrase, thus :—‘ It is but a light (or trifling, undignified) thing to be vouched (to be brought in as an evidence, or testimony) in so serious a matter (discordant and conflicting opinions in the church), but yet it expresseth well the deformity of the matter : there is a master, &c.’ In this paraphrase another important change (for the sake of perspicuity) has been made, viz. : throwing § 10 into § 9, thus making plainer the reference of the former to the latter. A good illustration is thus given of the importance of judicious paragraphing.

[10.] *Master of scoffing*: Rabelais (1483–1553), one of the most remarkable persons that took part in the revival of ancient learning—an accomplished scholar, physician, and philosopher—for a time a Franciscan monk, but known to posterity chiefly as a profane humorist. His fame rests principally on a single work—“*Lives of Garagantua and Pantagruel*,” abounding in waggeries, practical jokes, blasphemies, and obscenities, mingled with dissertations, sophistries, and allegorical satires. It is said to be a merciless attack upon monks, princes, kings, and all religious and political authorities. He has been called by Bacon “the great jester of France,” and by others the “comic Homer.” The work has passed through more than sixty editions, yet, it is said that no literary work can be compared with it for indecency, profanity, and disgusting coarseness.—*Botta's Hand Book*. *Feigned*: Give the synonyme.

Morris-dance, &c.: (Rabelais, *Pantag.* II, 7), sometimes written ‘moresque,’ sometimes ‘morrice,’ was practised in the middle ages by the Moors—whence probably the name. There was practised in England, before the time of Bacon at Christmas the *Fools' Dance*, performed by some persons dressed after the fantastic fashion of the Court-fool, who capered to the sound

that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book, "The Morris-Dance of Heretics:" for, indeed, every sect of them, hath a diverse posture, or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics who are apt to condemn holy things.

[11] As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it estab-

of bagpipes and other instruments, the performers on those being dressed like the dancers. This Dance of Fools is thought, by some, to have given rise to the Morris-Dance. Attitudes and gestures formed a principal part of this performance. It mingled also with the sports of May day. The fantastic dresses of those who engaged in it, were hung with small bells of various scales, under the names of the fore-bell, the second bell, the treble, and the tenor, thus making a pleasing concord of sounds; the leader of the dance being dressed in the most splendid manner. 'The Queen stood in some doubt of a Spanish invasion, though it proved but a *morris-dance* upon our waves.'—*Wotton*. 'Four reapers danced a *morris* to oaten pipes.'—*Spectator*. *Diverse*: Give an equivalent term.

Cringe: bow, a noun, but rarely used as an noun.

"Far from me

Be fawning *cringe*, and false-dissembling looks."—*Philips*.

By themselves: Point out the error in this expression.

Politics: old word for *politicians*. 'That which time severs, and *politics* do for earthly advantages, we will do for spiritual.' *Bp. Hall*.

[11.] *Within*: What should here be supplied? *Mortification*: not used in the modern sense of vexation, and chagrin; but in the spiritual sense of putting to death, or subduing, sinful propensities. The books referred to, are those which recommend suitable methods for effecting such a result. 'The *mortification* of our lusts has something in it that is troublesome, but nothing that is unreasonable.'—*Tillotson*.

Into treatises, &c: What is wanting to complete the thought in this passage?

lisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bonds of unity, the true placing [12] of them importeth exceedingly. There appear [13] to be two extremes; for to certain zealots all speech of pacification is odious. "Is it peace, Jehu?" [14] "What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me." Peace is not the matter, but following a [15] party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and [16]

[12.] *Concerning, &c.*: an exceedingly faulty sentence on account of its obscurity, arising from the unusual sense which the context requires us to put upon the word *bonds*, in order to obtain any intelligible idea. The author *seems* to use it in the sense of 'bounds,' 'boundaries,' 'limitations.' This construction is favored by the use of the verbal noun that follows. The sentence may thus be paraphrased:—'Concerning the bounds or limitations between which persons are to be admitted into the same church organization, the true or proper adjustment is exceedingly important. Some would have them narrow and exclusive, others broad and comprehensive. Some would include none but those who subscribe fully to their own opinions and adopt the views of their party; others would admit to membership persons who differ very widely from themselves in opinion and modes of worship. Rightly to adjust these bounds or limitations is of great consequence.' *Bonds*: That the word should have been *bounds* (in conformity to the above reasoning) is evident from the Latin Edition, which reads:—"Quantum ad terminos et limites unitatis." What expression has now taken the place of *importeth*? *Speech of pacification*: Speech designed to reconcile discordant views and practices.

[14.] *Is it, &c.*: Compare 1 Kings 9: 18.

[15.] *The matter*: i. e. the important matter, the thing of consequence.

lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an [17] arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded: "He that is not with us is against us;" and again, "He that is not against us is with us;" that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good inten-

[16.] *Contrariwise*: Give the modern form of expression.

And: Is this the proper connective? Why is it not?

Laodiceans: Compare Rev. 3: 15, 16.

To accommodate: to bring into harmony, to show to be coincident.

By middle ways: by striking out a middle course of thought.

Of both: of both discordant schemes.

Witty: ingenious.

The preposition *by* should be repeated before 'witty.'

Make an arbitrement, &c.: adjust differences between God and man—between God's teachings and man's—out of both constructing something between the two, upon which they would have all to agree for the sake of unity. The Latin reads: "Putant, capita religionis nexu se commodo colligare posse, per vias medias, et opiniones utrinque participantem, et reconciliações ingeniosas: ac si pro arbitris se gerere vellent inter Deum et homines."

[17.] *Extremes*: of rigor on the one hand, and of looseness on the other.

League of Christians: Christian league, or covenant (in the Latin, *foedus*); equivalent to the New Covenant or Testament.

Cross clauses: clauses opposite in form and meaning. [Better in the Latin, "In clausulis, quæ primo intuitu inter se opponi vident."]
Compare Mat. 12: 30 and Mark 9: 40. Bacon's interpretation of these apparently discordant passages (not really so, however, because delivered under different circumstances, and with a different end in view) seems to be this:—"He that is not with us [in fundamentals]

tion. This is a thing may seem to many a matter [18] trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according [19] to my small model. Men ought to take heed of [20] rending God's church by two kinds of controversies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is

is against us,' and 'He that is not against us [in fundamentals] is with us.'

Discerned and distinguished: Is there any appreciable difference of meaning in these words in this passage?

Merely: purely, absolutely, strictly. *Order:* probably here used in the sense of form of government, or routine of outward services.

Good intention: There seems to be something omitted here, which must be supplied in order to make the phrase intelligible. Perhaps the phrase means this: 'things resulting from good intention' [though not to be approved]. The Latin edition is more perspicuous: 'Quæ non sunt ex fide, sed ex opinione probabili, et intentione sancta, propter ordinem, et ecclesiæ politiam, sancita.'

[18.] *Thing may, &c.:* Supply the ellipsis. What thing is referred to?

It would be embraced: Another example of ambiguity. Paraphrase the sentence, making the meaning plain. The whole sentence, in the Latin edition, reads:— 'Hoc vero plurimis videri possit triviale quiddam, in quo quis actum agat, verum si hoc ipsum minore partium studio fieret, majore etiam consensu reciperetur.'

[19.] *Of this:* What other preposition is to be preferred?

Model: in the sense of 'measure,' 'capacity.'

[20.] *Too small, &c.:* For example, the proper time for observing Easter, and concerning the use of leavened or unleavened bread at the Lord's Supper.

Kindled: inflamed, exasperated, intensified.

In veste, &c.: 'Let there be variety in the vesture; not a rent,' [or, 'In the garment there may be many colors, but let there be no rending of it.']

They be, &c.: This

noted by one of the fathers, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he saith, "*in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*,"—they be two things, unity and uniformity: the other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious [21] than substantial. A man that is of judgment

clause is parenthetical, or should be so read, meaning unity is not the same as uniformity—there may be unity without uniformity.

The Apostle Paul is frequent and earnest in his exhortations to his converts to confine themselves to such studies as tend to the edification of the church, the conversion of infidels, and the propagation of the essential doctrines of the Gospel. And these doctrines are all of a *practical* tendency. While all the systems framed by human superstition, enthusiasm and imposture, whether Pagan, Romish, or Mahometan, abound in mythological fables, and marvellous legends, it is *one of the most remarkable characteristics of the true religion* that it reveals nothing that is not practically important. Our religion reveals to us, not the philosophy of the human mind in itself, nor yet the philosophy of the divine nature in itself, but (that which is properly religion) the relation and connection of the two Beings—what God is to us, what he has done, and will do for us,—and what we are to be and to do, in regard to him.—*Whately*.

[21.] *Those which*: What does present usage require?

Agree: i. e. in words. *And*: Commence here a new sentence with another word. *Distance of judgment*: difference in the power of judgment. *Between, &c.*: between some men and other men. *Those which*: make the correction. *Shall we not, &c.*: The use of *not* twice, in the compass of this question, creates great confusion of thought. It would clear away the fog if we omit its use in the last instance. *The heart*: Is this word here used, in the stricter sense, for the seat of affection, desire, and motive, or in the

and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree : and if it comes so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth of both ? The nature of such controversies is excellently [22]

larger and Biblical sense, to denote all the faculties of the soul of man as an intellectual and moral being ? *Contradictions :*
i. e. of each other.

[22.] *Devita, &c.* : A quotation from the Latin Vulgate of 1 Tim. 6 : 20. 'Avoid profane novelties of words, and oppositions of science falsely named.'

[23.] Another obscure sentence. It may be paraphrased thus :—Men create oppositions which are not [oppositions or opposite opinions] ; and they form and mould them into new terms so *fixed*, invariable or set, that whereas the meaning ought to regulate or direct the term to be employed, the term in effect regulates the meaning—requires a new and peculiar meaning to be attached to it. *As* : in the sense of *that*, denoting consequence, as in the following example :—'The mariners were so conquered by the storm *as* they thought it best with stricken sails to yield to be governed by it.'—*Sidney*.

Men create, &c. : So important are words in influencing our thoughts, and so common is the error of overlooking their importance, that we cannot give too much heed to this caution of Bacon as to our use of language in religious discussion. The rules most important to be observed are, first, to be aware of the *ambiguity* of words, and watchful against being misled by it ; since the *same word* not only may, but often must, be used to express *different meanings* ; and so common a source of dissension is the mistake hence arising of the meaning of others, that the word *misunderstanding* is applied to disagreements in general ; secondly, (since, on the other hand, the *same meaning* may be expressed by *different words*,) to guard against attach-

expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, "*devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ.*"

[23] Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth [24] the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance, for all colours will agree in the dark; the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points; for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

[25] Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware, that, in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the [26] laws of charity and of human society. There be

ing too great importance to the use of any particular term; and lastly, to avoid, as much as possible, introducing or keeping up the use of any particular *set of words or phrases*, any 'fixed terms,' as Bacon calls them, as the badge of a party. A neglect of this last rule, it is obvious, must greatly promote causeless divisions, and all the evils of party spirit.—*Whately.*

[24.] *Peaces*: 'kinds of peace.' *Unities*: 'kinds of unity.' *Image*: Daniel 2: 83. *Incorporate*: form an intimate and consistent union—a uniform substance. The paragraph commencing at § 19 should be divided into two. Where should the second one commence?

[25.] *Muniting*: *defending*. 'King Henry might fortify and *munit* all dangerous places and passages.—*Hall.*

[26.] *Mahomet's sword*: He propagated his religion by the sword, giving to those whom he vanquished the choice of accepting the Koran, or perishing by the sword. *Except*:

two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and [the] temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion; but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force conscience; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God; for this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Chris-

Substitute a more proper word. *Intermixture of practice*: combinations of effort, or of artful stratagem. *Much less*: another bad case of ellipsis. *Much less* [may we take up the sword] to nourish, &c. *First table*: of the moral law, Exod. XX—that which relates to God. *As Christians*: or, in their relation to God. *As*: 'that.' Compare § 28.

To *propagate*, &c.: Although Bacon thus protests against the 'forcing of men's consciences,' yet, I am not quite sure whether he fully embraced the principle that *all* secular coercion, small or great, in what regards religious faith, is contrary to the spirit of Christianity; and that a *man's religion*, so long as he conducts himself as a peaceable and good citizen, *does not fall within the province of the civil magistrate*. Bacon speaks with just horror of '*sanguinary persecutions*.' Now *any* laws that can be properly called '*sanguinary*'—any undue severity—should be deprecated in all matters whatever; as if, for example the penalty of death should be denounced for stealing a pin. But if religious truth does properly fall within the province of the civil magistrate,—if it be the office of government to provide for the good of the subjects universally, *including that of their souls*, the rulers can have no more right to tolerate heresy, than theft or murder. But if, on the contrary, we are to believe our Lord's declaration that his '*Kingdom is not of this world*,' and if we are to believe his Apostles sincere in renounc-

[27] tians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed,

“Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum?”

ing all design of propagating their faith by secular force, or of monopolizing for Christians as such, or for any denomination of Christians, secular power and political rights, then *all* penalties and privations, great and small, inflicted on purely religious grounds, must be equally of the character of persecution, and all alike unchristian. Persecution, in short, is not wrong because it is cruel, but it is cruel because it is wrong.—*Whately*.

[27.] *Tantum, &c.*: ‘So much of evils (or so many evils) could religion induce.’—*Lucret.* 1: 95. Compare note on (14) Essay I. The story of the act of Agamemnon, commander of the Greeks in the Trojan war, is thus related:—‘When the Greeks, going to the Trojan war, were detained by contrary winds at Aulis, they were informed by Calchas, that to appease the gods they must sacrifice Iphigenia, Agamemnon’s daughter, to Diana. The father, who had provoked the goddess by killing her favorite stag, heard this with the greatest horror and indignation; and, rather than shed the blood of his daughter, he commanded one of his heralds as chief of the Grecian forces, to order all the assembly to depart each to his respective home. Ulysses and the other generals interfered, and Agamemnon consented to immolate his daughter for the common cause of Greece. As Iphigenia was tenderly loved by her mother, the Greeks sent for her on pretence of giving her in marriage to Achilles. Clytemnestra (the mother), gladly permitted her departure, and Iphigenia came to Aulis. Here she saw the bloody preparations for the sacrifice. She implored the forgiveness and protection of her father; but tears and entreaties were unavailing. Calchas took the knife in his hand; and, as he was going to strike the fatal blow, Diana relented, caught away Iphigenia who suddenly disappeared, and a goat of uncommon size and beauty was found in her place for the sacrifice.

What would he have said, if he had known of [28] the massacre in France, or the powder treason of Eng-

This supernatural change animated the Greeks, the wind suddenly became favorable, and the combined fleet set sail from Aulis.'—*London Cyc.*

[28.] *The Massacre*: The author probably refers to that which occurred in France under the Roman Catholic King Charles IX, on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th, 1572, never to be forgotten as the day appointed for a simultaneous slaughter of the Huguenots, throughout the kingdom, for the crime of being Protestants. It commenced in Paris at the midnight hour, but continued for thirty days in France, and, as the result, about thirty thousand in that period are computed to have fallen victims to Popish intolerance and cruelty. Afterwards the number was swelled to one hundred thousand. In the time of Louis XIV, even a more horrid form of persecution was perpetrated against the Protestants. *Powder treason*: a plot formed for blowing up with gunpowder the Houses of Parliament, in the reign of James I, at a time when the members of both houses should be assembled to hear the King's speech at the opening of the session. November 5, 1605, was the day appointed for this intended, but not accomplished, measure. The occasion of this nefarious plot was the disappointment of the Roman Catholics with James at his supporting the cause of Protestantism. Carlyle's quaint account of this affair ('Cromwell's Letters and Speeches,' p. 20) is worth quoting:—"In November, 1605, there likewise came to Robert Cromwell's house, no question of it, news of the thrice unutterable Gunpowder Plot; whereby King, Parliament, and God's Gospel in England, were to have been, in one infernal moment, blown aloft; and the Devil's Gospel and accursed incredibilities, idolatries, and poisonous confusions of the Romish Babylon, substituted in their room. The Eternal Truth of the Living God to become an empty formula, or shaming grimace of the Three-hatted Chimera! These things did fill Huntingdon and Robert Cromwell's house with talk enough in the winter of Oliver's sixth year. And again, in the summer of his eleventh year, in May, 1610, there doubtless failed not news and talk, how the Great Henry was stabbed in Paris

[29] land? He would have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was; for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the [30] Anabaptists and other furies. It was great blasphemy when the devil said, "I will ascend and be like the Highest;" but it is greater blasphemy to personate

street: assassinated by the Jesuits:—black sons of the scarlet woman, murderous to soul and to body. The History of Europe at that period, meant essentially the struggle of Protestantism against Catholicism—a broader form of that same struggle of devout Puritanism against dignified Ceremonialism, which forms [formed] the History of England then. Henry the Fourth of France, so long as he lived, was still to be regarded as the Head of Protestantism; Spain, bound up with the Austrian Empire, as that of Catholicism."

[29.] *Epicure*: Epicurean—a disciple of Epicurus.

Anabaptists: These were a fanatical sect of German peasants in the sixteenth century, who partly from erroneous religious opinions, and partly from the severe oppressions they had experienced, rose against the government that had oppressed them; and endeavored to propagate their doctrines by force of arms, under the guidance of Munzer, Stubner, and others. These in 1525, at the head of a large army, declared war against all laws, governments and magistrates, under the pretence that Christ was now to take the reins of government into his own hands; but the insurgents were routed and dispersed by the Elector of Saxony.

[30.] *When the devil said, 'I will,' &c.*: reference being made to Isaiah 14: 14. Bacon seems hardly to be justified in ascribing this speech to the devil. It is attributed in the Bible to *Lucifer*, a name by which the prophet evidently designates the defeated king of Babylon, who, like Lucifer (or Satan) had sustained a terrible fall from a state of great elevation and glory.

Murdering: It should have been *the murder of*, to correspond with the nouns in the two following phrases.

God, and bring him in saying: "I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness;" and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, [31] instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian church, a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins; therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod, do damn, and send to hell forever, those facts and opinions tending to support the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils of religion [32]

[31.] *Instead of, &c.*: This is not well expressed. Better, 'not in the likeness of a dove, but in the shape,' &c. *To set*: to raise, or display. The word 'assassins' should be followed by a period. *All learnings*: all works of learning. *Mercury rod*: rod or wand of Mercury, alluding to the heathen God, according to the fable, who, by his rod (*caduceus*), conducted departed spirits to the lower world of the dead. He is introduced here in connection with learning, as he was, in Pagan mythology, the god of speech and of eloquence—the inventor indeed of letters; so that learned men (by their works) are consistently required to use the rod of Mercury to execute the design in view. *The same*: The reference being to things expressed at some distance above, viz.: the cruel and sanguinary acts denounced, perspicuity required that these should have been mentioned again. *In good part*: Give an equivalent phrase.

[32.] *Would*: It will be observed that Bacon frequently, as here, uses *would* where modern usage requires *should*.

Ira, &c.: James 1: 20. 'The wrath of man does not satisfy the justice of God.' *Whick*: This pronoun in Bacon's time, referred to persons as well as things. Is it so now?

that counsel of the apostle would be prefixed, "*Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei.*" and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

Persuaded : inculcated by argument. In this sense, however, the word is but rarely used. *Pressure of consciences* : the use of force, to compel men to speak or act in violation of truth, and of a sense of duty.

1. In reviewing this and other Essays of Bacon, can we suppose that he wrote for the people, or for the learned only?

2. Can we in candor pronounce him an accurate, perspicuous and finished writer?

3. Has not English style undergone a vast improvement since his day?

4. For what then are these Essays so greatly admired, and what additional reason may be urged for the careful study of them? Consult the 'Critical Estimates.'

5. It will be a profitable exercise to re-write this Essay, in a style and arrangement adapted to please the popular and cultivated taste of the present day.

6. What is 'the true bond of Christian unity' in the view of the sacred writers? Whately's remarks on Pagan religions in contrast with Christianity? Also, upon the causes that have obstructed the progress of the Reformation.

7. Give an account of Rabelais, and of his writings. What was the Morris-dance?

8. The importance of words in influencing thought? Whately's strictures upon Bacon's views as to the province of the civil magistrate in matters of religion?

9. The story of Iphigenia? The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day? The Gunpowder Plot? The Anabaptists? The Caduceus of Mercury?

10. Point out the obsolete words or phrases; or such as have undergone a change of signification since these Essays were written

11. Point out any sentences that would be improved by division into two or more. Examine also, the connectives used, and decide upon their necessity and accuracy.

12. It would be a profitable exercise to enter upon a critical examination of certain sentences, in this and the other Essays, that may be assigned; and to present a written criticism upon their beauties, or faults, and to suggest changes of form or expression that may be deemed improvements, taking as a model, the criticisms of Dr. Blair on Addison and other writers.

ESSAY IV.

REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the [1] more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out: for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the

[1.] *Revenge*: the disposition to inflict, or the act of inflicting, an injury, in a malignant spirit, in return for an injury received. *Runs to*: This is eminently an English idiom [a preposition at the end of a sentence], and nothing but prejudice arising from misapplied analogy with the Southern languages, and the propensity to make style more formal and less idiomatic, could ever have led any one to suppose this construction to be wrong. The false fastidiousness which shuns a short particle at the end of a sentence, is fatal often to a force which belongs to the language with its primal character. The superiority of the idiom I am referring to could be proved beyond question by examples of the best writing in all the eras of the language. Lord Bacon says, "Houses are built to live in, and not to look on" [and again in the first sentence of this Essay]. Any attempt to transpose these separable prepositions would destroy the strength and the terseness of the sentences. Even a stronger example occurs in a passage of Dr. Donne, a contemporary of Bacon's: "Hath God a name to swear by? . . . Hath God a name to curse by? Hath God a name to blaspheme by? and hath God no name to pray by?" *Reid's Eng. Lit.*, Lect. III, pp. 102, 103. *For as, &c.*: Amend this second member by striking out superfluous words.

Offend the law: An antiquated sense of *offend* is, to violate or transgress, which meets the present case; unless we read the sentence more rhetorically, and regard it as an instance of Personification, and thus use the word in its ordinary sense. In his *Antitheta* Bacon writes: 'Qui vim rependit, legem tantum violat, non hominem'—i. e. 'he who repays violence, offends against the law only; not against the individual.' What is revenge compared to in this sentence?

law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out [2] of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon; and Solomon, I am sure, saith, "It is the glory of a man to pass [3] by an offence." That which is past and gone is irrecoverable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. [4] There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or plea-

[2.] Divide this sentence into two, omitting the connective, as unnecessary. *Taking revenge, &c.*: Bacon, in speaking of the duty, and of the difficulty, of forgiving injuries, might have remarked that some of the things hardest to forgive are not what any one would consider *injuries* (i. e. *wrongs*) at all. Many would reprobate the use, in such a case, of the word *forgive*. And the word ought not to be insisted on, though that most intelligent woman, Miss Elizabeth Smith, says that 'a woman has need of extraordinary gentleness and modesty to be *forgiven* for possessing superior ability and learning.' She would probably have found this true even now, to a certain degree; though less than in her time. But, not to insist on a word, say instead of 'forgive,' that it is hard to 'judge fairly of' and to 'feel kindly towards.'

Again, with some minds of a baser nature, there is a difficulty, proverbially, in forgiving those whom one is conscious of having injured; and, again, those (especially if equals or inferiors) who have done *very great* and important services, beyond what can ever receive an adequate return.—*Whately*.

Even with his enemy: Paraphrase this expression.

It is, &c.: Prov. 19: 11.

[3.] This sentence admits of a favorable division into two. Where can the division be most effectively made?

[4.] Change the form of this sentence, to make it more concise and terse. What example of ellipsis does it contain?

sure or honour, or the like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely [5] out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for [6] those wrongs which there is no law to remedy: but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one. Some, when they [7] take revenge, are desirous the party should know when it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight

[5.] *Why*: Does this word add any thing to the sense? If not, what name shall we give it? What two words may with advantage be left out? What other word must be changed in order to render the sentence perfectly grammatical? What is to be said of the morality taught in this sentence?

[6.] *Is for, &c.*: Paraphrase this clause. Supply the ellipsis at the end of the sentence, and make it more clear.

To *punish*: i. e. the revenge. *Beforehand, &c.*: has the advantage—a double advantage. [*'At simul prospiciat quis, ut genus vindictæ ejusmodi sit, quod not sit legi obnoxium. Alias ipse sibi poenam conduplicat, inimicus vero lucrum facit.'*—*Latin Edition.*]

[7.] *When it cometh*: i. e. is about to be inflicted. Other copies read, '*whence it cometh.*' Which reading is to be preferred? *Are desirous, &c.*: It is certainly, as Bacon remarks, 'more generous'—or less *ungenerous*—to desire that the party receiving the punishment should 'know whence it cometh.' Aristotle distinguishes 'Resentment' or 'Anger,' from 'Hatred' (and when active, 'Malice'), by this. The one who hates, he says, wishes the object of his hatred to suffer, or to be destroyed, no matter by whom; while resentment craves that he should know *from whom*, and *for what*, he suffers. And he instances Ulysses in the *Odyssey*, who was not satisfied with the vengeance he had taken, under a feigned name, on the

seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent; but base and crafty cowards [8] are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were [9] unpardonable. "You shall read," saith he, "that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our [10] friends." But yet the spirit of Job was in better tune: "Shall we," saith he, "take good at God's hand, and not be content to take evil also?" and so of [11] friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge, keeps his own wounds green, [12] which otherwise would heal and do well. Public

Cyclops, till he had told them who he had told him who he really was. So Shakespeare makes Macduff, in his eager desire of vengeance on Macbeth, say:

"If thou be slain, and with no sword of mine,
My wife's and children's ghosts will haunt me still."—*Wintohy*.

[8.] *Cosmus*: Cosmo de Medici, or Cosmo I, a remarkable patron of learning and the fine arts. *Neglecting*: neglectful, negligent.

[9.] *Those wrongs*: What wrong? Change the expression, and supply the ellipsis.

[10.] What word in this sentence is redundant? *Better tune*: better temper or humor. 'A continual Parliament, I thought, would but keep the common weal in tune.'—*King Charles*. 'A child will learn three times as fast when he is in tune, as he will when he is dragged to his task.'—*Locke*.

Shall we, &c.: 'Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?'—*Job 2: 10*. *In a proportion*: in a just share, or for a similar reason.

[11.] *Green*: fresh. How comes the word *green* to have this meaning? *Wounds*: What wounds?

revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar; for the death of Pertinax; for the

[12.] *Public revenges, &c.*: may mean those inflicted by public authority, or those inflicted upon public characters, or those which are inflicted from a real or supposed regard to the public welfare. The author probably means, the infliction of punishment by government, under sanction of public law.

For: on account of. *Cæsar*: Allusion is made to the retribution which Augustus and Anthony exacted of the murderers of Julius Cæsar, none of whom, as ancient historians assert, died a natural death.

In Bacon's Essay on Envy, he makes a similar distinction to what is here made, between public and private envy: "There is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an ostracism that eclipseth men when they grow too great; and therefore, it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds." Compare Essay XXX, § 22-25.

Pertinax: His death was publicly avenged upon the unprincipled and dangerous Prætorian guards, some of whom, for a tempting bribe, offered by an aspirant to the imperial dignity, had basely murdered (A. D. 108) this virtuous and worthy Emperor. Very soon after, one of his successors, Septimius Severus, assumed the name of Pertinax, and inflicted summary punishment upon all who had been concerned in his murder, disbanded the Prætorian guards, banished them to the distance of one hundred miles from Rome, pronounced a panegyric upon the lamented Pertinax, and caused him to be numbered among the gods of Rome. The 'public revenge' on the Prætorian guards, is thus graphically portrayed by Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, Ch. V): "Before the new Emperor entered Rome, he issued his commands to the Prætorian guards, directing them to await his arrival on a large plain near the city, without arms, but in the habits of ceremony, in which they were accustomed to attend their sovereign. He was obeyed by those haughty troops, whose contrition was the effect of their just terrors. A chosen part of the Illyrian army encompassed them with levelled spears. Incapable of flight or resistance, they expected their fate in silent consternation

death of Henry the Third of France; and many more.
 [13] But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather

Severus mounted the tribunal, sternly reproached them with perfidy and cowardice, dismissed them with ignominy from the trust which they had betrayed, despoiled them of their splendid ornaments, and banished them, on pain of death, to the distance of one hundred miles from the capital. During the transaction, another detachment had been sent to seize their arms, occupy their camp, and prevent the hasty consequences of their despair."

The overthrow of these guards may be pronounced a 'fortunate' thing for the peace of Rome.

Henry III, of France, himself often addicted to the crime of an assassin, when he thought State policy required it, fell himself by the hand of a fanatic assassin (Jacques Clement), an event 'fortunate' perhaps (in the language of Bacon), as he was succeeded by a much better man, Henry IV. The death of the former by violence has been regarded as a retribution dealt by the hand of an offended Providence upon a blood-thirsty and bigoted tyrant.

"Neque enim lex æquior ulla
 Quam necis artifices arte perire sua."

Vindictive: a form, now obsolete, of the word *vindictive*, revengeful.

Witches: Persons formerly supposed to be in compact with the devil by giving themselves body and soul up to him, and receiving from him power to do various marvellous things. Witchcraft was universally believed as a real fact in Europe till the sixteenth century, and to a large extent till the middle of the seventeenth. Large numbers of reputed witches were every year convicted and condemned to be burnt. The species of witchcraft condemned by the law of Moses, was justly punished under the Theocracy as an act of rebellion against God, since it sought to mislead the people to trust in demons and other imaginary beings rather than in God. *So end, &c.*: so come they to a miserable end. See note (1) Essay VIII.

The belief in witches, after the accession of James [of course in the time of Lord Bacon] became the master superstition of the age. James had a personal quarrel against the whole race of witches: during his matrimonial voyage to Denmark they

vindicative persons live the life of witches, who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

had baptized a cat, by which they had raised a storm [so he conceived] that almost wrecked his ship, and when he became king of England he was as proud of being *Malleus Malificarum*, as Defender of the Faith. He wrote, reasoned, and declaimed upon witchcraft; his courtiers and clergy, sufficiently apt for superstition, echoed the alarm, and the judges revived the application of the dormant statutes that had been enacted against sorceries and enchantments. And now commenced the only warfare of the pacific James,—his warfare against old women, which was waged with great fury during the whole of his reign and signalized by an abundance of slaughter. The methods, too, of detecting the crime, were strikingly characteristic of the age. See *Craig's Hist. Eng.*, Vol. III, p. 639.

As an admirable illustration of the subject of the Essay, and at the same time as a specimen of an easy and vigorous style, the following observations, from the pen of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, are subjoined:—

“It is astonishing how wide the range is of revengefulness. I used to think, before I knew much of life, judging from my impressions of boys and young men that had not much to do with each other, that vengeance was not very common; but I have come to think differently since I have seen the interior of life, and have seen what hatreds are bred out of friendship, how men come to work intentionally and unintentionally against each other, how they seek to supplant each other, and how they attempt to avenge wrongs done to them, watching and waiting for their victim, saying, ‘He served me a mean trick; but never mind, I shall have a chance by-and-by;’ and then, when he is in trouble, taking advantage of his misfortune to pay him off. A Christian man, under such circumstances, would say, ‘When I was in trouble, he tripped me; now I am going right out to hold him up, and I am going to show him the difference between being a Christian and not being a Christian;’ but these men say, ‘He tripped me, and I am going to wait till he gets to the edge of the precipice, and then I will trip him; and then scores will be quit, and we will rub out the slate.’

Men lay up a wrong done to them, and cherish it, and, as embers are raked up at night, rake it up, and then uncover it that it may burn the next day, and rake it up again, and uncover it again, and so keep it alive, and nourish it, till an opportunity comes for taking revenge and so wipe it out. This is as common in business as in anywhere else, except in political life, where abound little spites, and cutting remarks, and innuendoes, and scandal-bearings, and all manner of carrying and fetching. Life is full of these things. They are so small that it would seem as if they were too unimportant to be wicked; and yet, because they are so small and unimportant, they are often all the more wicked. When a man sacrifices his conscience for nothing, he is frequently more culpable than if he sacrificed it for some great thing; as, for instance, for something on which the foundation of his household, his character, or his estate rested. There is provocation for a man to lift himself up and take revenge under such circumstances; but where one, unprovoked, and because he has a relish for it, does spiteful things, and is perpetually looking on the unlovely side of human nature, and gives vent to ten thousand unamiable tendencies, there is no excuse nor palliation for him, and he is more wicked than the man who, being subjected to great wrongs, seeks to avenge those wrongs. And how persons professing to be Christians, can live in the state that some do in this regard, from week to week and from month to month, and call upon the name of God in the household, and sit at the Lord's table in the sanctuary, and partake of the body and blood of the great Sufferer, without being rebuked by their conscience, I cannot imagine. One would think, by the casuistry that is employed in this matter, that the peculiar temptation of society was too easy forgiving. I have heard it argued at our prayer-meetings and conference-meetings, in sober discussion, that it is not our duty to forgive till there is evidence of repentance and reformation. One would suppose that it was necessary to build a barrier against the tendency of men to forgive too readily. As if there was any danger in that direction! As if it was needful to argue that side at all! The great temptation, the universal fault of men, in this matter, is to seek revenge; to do wrong as the requital of wrong; to give blow for blow; to meet reviling with reviling. And there is no need of your going into a discussion, and arguing as though you were too prone to for-

give. I think you might forgive for a thousand years, and not go wrong twice. The guard and watch needs to be on the other side."

1. Paragraph the Essay. Write an Analysis, and a Paraphrase of the Essay.

2. What English idiom is exemplified and defended in this Essay?

3. The remark of Miss Elizabeth Smith, and the correction of one of the words she uses? When do men of base natures find it especially difficult to forgive?

4. Aristotle's nice distinction between Resentment and Hatred? *Como de Medici*? The avenging of the death of *Cæsar*? Also, of the death of *Fertinax*? and also, of *Henry III* of France?

5. Define the word *witch*; state when and where belief in witchcraft prevailed; and describe that which was condemned by the law of *Moses*. The opinions and conduct of *James* in relation to witchcraft. *Mr. Beecher's* illustrations of the wide range of revengefulness?

6. Point out obsolete words and phrases, or those which have acquired a new signification since *Bacon* wrote.

7. Point out the Similes and other Figures in this Essay.

ESSAY V.

ADVERSITY.

[1] It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired: "*Bona rerum*

[1.] *Adversity*: Some kinds of adversity are chiefly of the character of *trials*, and others of *discipline*. But Bacon does not advert to this difference. By 'discipline' is to be understood, any thing, that has a *direct tendency to improvement*, or to create some qualification that did not exist before; and by 'trial,' any thing that tends to *ascertain* what improvement *has* been made, or what qualities exist. Both effects may be produced at once; but we speak of the proper character of trial, and of discipline, as such. What is called 'proving a gun,' that is, loading it to the muzzle and firing it, does not at all tend to increase its strength, but only proves that *it is* strong. Proper hammering and tempering of the metal, on the other hand, tends to *make* it strong. *Every* kind of trial of moral character, if well endured, tends to fortify the good principle. On the other hand, every kind of improving process—religious study, good example, or whatever else—if it does not leave you the better, will leave you the worse. Let no man flatter himself that any thing external will *make* him wise or virtuous, without his taking pains to *learn* wisdom or virtue from it.—*Whately*.

High speech: Synonyme? This is a fine example of the balanced sentence, wherein the clauses happily correspond to each other in structure. *Seneca*: a Stoic philosopher born at Corduba, about the beginning of the Christian era; educated carefully at Rome, and improved by extensive travel. He rose to high offices in the State, and became tutor to Nero when a youth. This position enabled him to become the possessor of enormous wealth, which, however, did not corrupt his morals or vitiate his disposition. He did not yield himself to the com-

secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia." Cer- [2]
tainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they
appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech [3]
of this than the other (much too high for a heathen),
"It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a
man, and the security of a God" "—"*Vere magnum
habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.*" This [4]
would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies
are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been

mon vices of flattery and ambition. "I had rather," said he
to Nero, "offend you by speaking the truth, than please you
by lying and flattery." He wrote extensively and excellently
on moral subjects.

[2.] *Most*: the word is ambiguous. Add some qualifying
word to make the meaning perfectly clear.

[3.] *Much too high, &c.*: The Stoical system bears great
resemblance in some of its noble precepts to Christianity, which
is best accounted for by supposing that it borrowed from
Christianity; for it is said that it is only in the latest writers
of this system that the resemblance of principle and sentiment
is the greatest. It is comparatively faint in the writings of
Cicero, who drew his materials from the Stoics, but strongest
in those of Seneca and Epictetus and others, who wrote after
Christianity had become widely diffused in the Roman empire.

[4.] This sentence should close at the end of the first
member, the following connective being omitted in beginning
the next sentence.

Transcendencies: extravagancies;
elevation above what is true or real.

Ancient poets:
Stesichorus, Apollodorus and others. The same myth is referred
to by Bacon in his "Wisdom of the Ancients," in these
terms: "It is added, with great eloquence, for supporting and
confirming the human mind, that the great hero [Hercules],
who thus delivered him, sailed the ocean in a cup, or pitcher,
to prevent fear or complaint; as if, through the narrowness of
our nature, or a too great fragility thereof, we were absolutely
incapable of that fortitude and constancy to which Seneca

busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, "that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher, lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world."

[5] But to speak in a mean, the virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which [6] in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity

finely alludes, when he says, 'It is a noble thing, at once to participate in the frailty of man, and the security of a God.'"
—Page 255.

Bacon, in the same connection, expresses the opinion that the fiction concerning Prometheus exhibits a surprising correspondence with the Christian mysteries: in particular, the voyage of Hercules, made in a pitcher, to release Prometheus, bears an allusion to the 'Word of God' coming in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem mankind.

Mystery: a secret or emblematic meaning. *Nay and*: Better, and besides. *Lively*: in a life-like manner. The word is not now used as an adverb.

[5.] It would improve this sentence by closing it with the word *fortitude*, and changing *which* into *this*, for the beginning of a new sentence. *In a mean*: in a style of moderation. ['Verum ut a granditate verborum ad mediocritatem descendamus.'—*Latin Edition*.]

"But no authority of gods or men
Allows of any mean in poetry."—*Roscommon*.

The virtue of prosperity: Does this mean the moral quality which prosperity engenders, or that which befits and adorns prosperity?

[6.] *Prosperity, &c.*: See the remarks of Macauley on this fine passage, on a foregoing page, in the "Critical Estimates of

is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour.

the Essays." *Blessing of the O. T.*: Compare Exod. 20: 12; Prov. 8: 9, 10; Dent. 30: 9, 10, 20. *Blessing of the New*: Heb. 12: 6, 11; James 1: 12; Rom. 5: 3, 4; 8: 28.

The distinguishing characteristic of the Old Covenant, of the Mosaic Law, is that it was enforced by a system of temporal rewards and judgments, administered according to an extraordinary [miraculous] providence. The Israelites were promised, as the reward of obedience, long life, and health, and plentiful harvests, and victories over their enemies. And the punishments threatened for disobedience, were pestilence, famine, defeat, and all kinds of temporal calamity. These were the rewards and punishments that formed the sanction of the Mosaic Law. But the New Covenant, the Gospel, held out as its sanction rewards and punishments in the next world, and there only. The former Kingdom of God was a kingdom of this world; the latter was 'not of this world.' So far from promising worldly prosperity to his followers as a reward of their obedience to him, our Lord prepared them for suffering and death in his cause, even such as he endured himself, saying, 'great is your reward in Heaven.' The disciples were indeed taught that the painful trials sent upon Christians are among the 'things that work together for good' (that is spiritual and eternal good) 'to them that love God.' Under the Christian dispensation, therefore, chastisement is for a very different purpose from retribution; the allotment of good and evil, according to the character of each man (which is properly retribution), is reserved for the next world.—*Whately*.

This topic is most forcibly treated by Rev. Robert Philip, in his 'Guide to the Thoughtful' or Eternity Realized.'—*No. IV.*

Prosperity is the blessing &c.: This Essay of Bacon contains some fine examples of what is called the Balanced Sentence, in which different clauses of a Compound Sentence are similar in form. Dr. Johnson's writings and the Letters of Junius furnish numerous examples of this kind of sentence. In the present instance, the balanced sentence would be more perfect if it had closed with the word 'New.' Other examples of the

[7] Yet, even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than

kind in this Essay may be sought and pointed out. One advantage of this form of sentence, besides affording gratification to taste, is the aid which it gives to memory. Sometimes also an agreeable surprise is conveyed by such form of expression. We have in the last sentence of the Essay an example of balanced antithesis in its purest form, that of 'obverse iteration,' as it has been designated: i. e. where the equivalent fact is stated from the opposite side—'Prosperity doth best discover vice; but adversity doth best discover virtue.' A moderate use of the balanced form of sentence is to be cultivated: when excessive, it wearies the reader, as in the writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Junius. and of Macauley.

[7.] *Hearse-like airs*: funeral airs. It must be remembered that many of the Psalms of David were written by him when persecuted by Saul, as also in the tribulation caused by the wicked conduct of his son, Absalom. Some of them, too, though called "The Psalms of David" were really composed by the Jews, in their captivity at Babylon; as, for instance, the 137th Psalm, which so beautifully commences, 'By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down.'—D.

"It is true, as Lord Bacon says, that 'if you listen to David's harp, you will hear as many hearse-like airs as carols;' yet still the carols are found there more than any where else. 'Rejoice in the Lord'—'Sing ye merrily'—'Make a cheerful noise'—'Take the psalm, bring hither the tabret, the merry harp, with the lute'—'A joyful and a pleasant thing it is to be thankful.' This, in fact, is the very meaning of the word 'psalm.' The one Hebrew word which is their very pith and marrow, is 'hallelujah.' They express, if we may so say, the sacred duty of being happy. Be happy, cheerful, and thankful, as ever we can, we cannot go beyond the Psalms. They laugh, they shout, they scream for joy. There is a wild exhilaration which rings through them. They exult alike in the joy of battle, and in the calm of nature. They see God's goodness

the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not with- [8]
out many fears and distates; and adversity is not
without comforts and hopes. We see in needle- [9]
works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a
lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have
a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground:
judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the
pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like [10]
precious odours, most fragrant where they are incensed
or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover vice, but
adversity doth best discover virtue.

every where. They are not ashamed to confess it. The light
side of creation is every where uppermost; the dark, senti-
mental side is hardly ever seen."—*Dr. Noyes.*

Felicities: seldom used in the plural.

[8.] *Adversity is not without comforts, &c.*: Thus Shake-
speare, in the pastoral play 'As You Like It,' puts this
language (as is supposed) into the mouth of the representative
of a Duke exiled, with two others, from court, and passing life
amid rural scenes:—

"Now my co-mates and brothers in exile,
Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
Than that of painted pomp? Are not these woods
More free from peril than the envious court?

* * * * *
Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head;
And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

[9.] *Lively work*: a work in light colors. *Lightsome*:
of bright or gay aspect. *Sad*: dark. 'I met him in sad-
colored clothes.'—*Walton.* *Judge therefore, &c.*: Para-
phrase the sentence.

[10.] *Incensed*: burned. See note on § 6.

1. Write an analysis of the Essay. Divide it into paragraphs. Point out the elegant sentences.

2. Whately's distinction between Discipline and Trial. Give an account of Seneca. How is the resemblance of some of the precepts of the Stoical system to those of Christianity accounted for?

3. The story of Hercules and Prometheus? The distinguishing characteristic of the Old Covenant? Also, that of the New? What is meant by the balanced sentence? Point out examples.

4. Point out the obsolete words or phrases, if any; or words used in a different sense from that which they now bear.

5. Re-write the Essay, improving the style of it, as far as possible.

ESSAY VI.

GREAT PLACE.

MEN in great place are thrice servants; ser- [1]
vants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and
servants of business; so as they have no freedom,
neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in
their times. It is a strange desire to seek power [2]
and to lose liberty; or to seek power over others, and
to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto [3]
power is laborious, and by pains men come to greater
pains: and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men

[1.] *Thrice*: Expand this expression. *So as*: so that.
See Essay III, § 23. *Neither—nor*: In modern phrase,
either—or, as the negative is implied in *no* ('no freedom').

[2.] An example of 'condensed sentence,' where much is
left to be supplied by the reader. There is a degree of paradox
in the first clause. *And to lose liberty*: Alter this clause
so as better to express the precise thought intended by the
author. A similar change must be made in the last clause of
the sentence, for no man really desires to lose liberty, or to
lose power over himself. In Bacon's *Antitheta* we read:—
'Dum honores appetimus, libertatem exuimus,' i. e., 'While
we are seeking for honors, we are divesting ourselves of liberty.'

[3.] This sentence would be improved by division into two,
omitting *and* at the beginning of the new sentence.
Indignities: undignified, mean acts.

"Fie on the pelf for which good name is sold,
And honor with indignity debased."—*Spenser*.

Base: used for the adverb, *basely*. Supply the ellipsis in the
last clause.

[4] come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing: "*Cum non sis qui fueris, [5] non esse cur velis vivere?*" Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, [6] though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly

[4.] *The standing*: Where? *Regress*: Synonyme?

Cum, &c.: 'Since thou art not what thou wast there is no reason why you should wish to live.' Bacon, in his *Antitheta*, says:—'Honorum ascensus arduus, statio lubrica, regressus præceps;' i. e. 'The ascent to high place is steep, the summit slippery, the descent precipitous.'

[5.] *Nay*: Synonyme? *Retire*: The position of the verb before its subject gives it the emphasis desired.

Reason: reasonable, right. 'It is not *reason* that we should leave the word of God and serve tables.'—*Acts* 6: 2.

Impatient of privateness: cannot endure retirement [from public station]. *Shadow*: shade, seclusion.

"In secret shadow from the sunny ray
On a sweet bed of lilies softly laid."—*Spenser*.

Like, &c.: Commence here a new sentence: 'They are like, &c.'

[6.] *Certainly*: a very favorite word with Bacon in introducing a sentence. Substitute its synonyme. *Find it*: What does it refer to, and what word or phrase should be substituted for it? *Fain*: gladly.

"*Fain* would I woo her, yet I dare not."—*Shakespeare*.

As it were: Analyse this very common phrase.

Bacon in his *Antitheta* says: 'Qui in honore sunt, vulgi opinionem mutuuntur oportet, ut seipsos beatos putent;' i. e. 'Those who are in exalted stations, must borrow the view which the vulgar take of them, in order to think themselves happy.'

great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy: for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it; but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when perhaps they find the contrary within; for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business, they have no time to tend to their health either of body or mind: "*Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.*" In [8] place there is license to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second, not to can. But power to do [9]

[7.] *Puzzle*: an admirable word for expressing the perplexity and entanglement of some forms of business. *Tend*: old word for 'attend to.' *Illi, &c.*: 'Death falls severely on him, who, while well known to all, dies unacquainted with himself.'—*Seneca, Thyeste* 11: 401.

[8.] *Place*: official rank and station.

"Do you know your office, or give up your *place*."—*Shakespeare*.

License: undue freedom, opportunity. *In evil*: in respect to evil. *To will*: to will [evil]. If any man will [is willing to] do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.'—*John* 7: 17. *To can*: to be able, to have power [to do evil].

"Mæcenas and Agrippa who *can* most with Cæsar."—*Dryden*

Bacon in his *Antitheta* observes:—'Honores dant fere potestatem earum rerum quos optima conditio est nolle, proxima non posse;' i. e. 'High position puts in a man's power, for the most part, those things of which it would be best to want the wish, and the next best to want the power to do.'

good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts (though God accept them), yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as [10] the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest; for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be a partaker of God's rest: "*Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis*;" and then the sabbath.

[9.] *End of aspiring*: object to aspire to. *Accept*: approve. *Good thoughts*: Equivalent? *Vantage-ground*: the more favorable position—that which gives one an advantage over others.

[10.] *Is the end, &c.*: Is the verb in the proper number?

End, &c.: highest aim or design of man's mental movement or activity.

"There is a fire
And *motion* of the soul which will not dwell
In its own narrow being."—*Byron*.

Conscience: consciousness.

"The sweetest cordial we receive at last
Is *conscience* of our virtuous actions past."—*Denham*.

Accomplishment: Synonyme? *For if, &c.*: This is a clause of explanation, almost of iteration, and so does not need this connective. *Theatre*: scheme or method of operation.

Et conversus, &c.: 'And God having turned, that he might behold the works which his hand had made, beheld that all were very good.'—*Gen.* 1, 31.

In this sentence the good works of man are beautifully compared with the magnificent and various works of the six days' creation; and the sweet consciousness of their moral excellence and beneficent tendency is compared to the divine complacency and repose on surveying the results of creative goodness. The author is not quite sound on the subject of human merit.

In the discharge of thy place, set before thee the [11] best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time set before thee thine own example, and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those [12] that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, with- [13] out bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to [14] the first institution, and observe wherein and how they

The Christian ascribes no merit to any works performed by himself, but looks entirely to the merit of Jesus Christ, in whom alone his works are accepted.

[11.] *In the discharge of thy place*: Supply the ellipsis here found. *A globe of precepts*: a body or collection of precepts. The imitation of good examples involves the practice of a multitude of precepts.

"Him around

A globe of fiery seraphim enclosed."—Milton.

And after: Here should begin a new sentence, "and" being omitted.

Examine, &c.: a condensed manner of writing. Supply words for a full expression of the thought.

[12.] *Taxing their memory*: *condemning, censuring what we can remember* of their conduct. 'Men's virtue I have commended as freely as I have *taxed* their crimes.'—Dryden.

The beginning of this sentence might be improved: 'Study also the examples, &c.'

[13.] *Reform*: Synonyme? *Without bravery or scandal, &c.*: i. e. *without bragging over, or aspersing former times, &c.*

"You must not put another *scandal* on him."—Shakespeare.

Set it down, &c.: Paraphrase this clause.

[14.] *Reduce*: Synonyme? *Institution*: *establishment, or character*. Paraphrase the last clause, *what is best, &c.*

have degenerated ; but yet ask counsel of both times ; of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time [15] what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect ; but be not too positive and peremptory, and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. [16] Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction ; and rather assume thy right in silence, and "*de facto*," than voice it with claims and [17] challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places ; and think it more honour to direct in chief, [18] than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place ; and do not drive away such as bring the information as medi- [19] cles, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four ; delays, corruption, roughness, [20] and facility. For delays, give easy access ; keep

[15.] *Express, &c.* : assign clear and satisfactory reasons.

[16.] *The right of thy place* : The right which belongs to thy place—that which thou art authorized to claim and to demand.

Questions of jurisdiction : questions concerning the limits of authority and privilege. *De facto* : in fact, really, (or, as a matter of course.—*D.*) *Voice* : an expressive word for assert.

"When I shall voice aloud how good
He is, how great should be."—*Lovelace.*

[17.] *More honor* : Either 'more' is to be taken as synonymous with *greater*, or 'honor' is used for 'honorable.'

[18.] *Execution, &c.* : Supply the ellipsis. *In good part* : Paraphrase this.

[20.] *For : as for, so far as concerns, in reference to.*

Interlace not business : intermix not new matters of business. Compare § 25, where *as for* is used. ['*Inchoata quæ sunt perfice; neque negotia nova intermisce, nisi urgeat necessitas.*'—*Latin Translation.*]

times appointed ; go through with that which is in hand ; interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servant's hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering ; for integrity used doth the one, but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other ; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption ; therefore, always, when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to *steal* it. A servant [23]

[21.] *For* : See above. *Offering* : Supply the ellipsis.

Used : exercised. *Avoid, &c.* : How sadly Bacon violated in his own judicial functions this excellent counsel, may be seen in the Sketch of his Life prefixed to these Essays.

[22.] *Profess it plainly* : Considering that the course Bacon here recommends is not only the most ingenuous and dignified, but also the most prudent with a view to men's approbation, it is wonderful how often this maxim is violated. Many persons will rather back out of an opinion or course of conduct, by the most awkward shifts, than frankly acknowledge a change of mind. They seem to dread nothing so much as a suspicion of what they call 'inconsistency,' i. e. owning one's self to be wiser to-day than yesterday.—*Whately*. *Manifestly* : This word is redundant, or, if retained, the word *manifest* should be changed to *sufficient* or *satisfactory*. *Steal it* : to do it secretly, to accomplish it unobserved.

[23.] *Inward* : intimate, familiar. In this sense the word is now obsolete. 'He had occasion, by one very *inward* with him, to know in part the discourse of his life.'—*Sidney*. 'All my *inward* friends abhorred me.'—*Job*, 19 : 19.

"Who is most *inward* with the noble duke."—*Shakespeare*.

And no other : Supply the words necessary to make good sense. *Close* : Synonyme ? ['*Servus gratusus, et apud*

or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to [24] close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but rough- [25] ness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from autho- [26] rity ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery, for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without; as Solomon saith, "To respect persons it is not good, for such a man will [27] transgress for a piece of bread." It is most true

dominum potens, si non extet aliqua favoris causa manifesta, reputatur plerumque nihil aliud quam via obliqua ad corruptelas.'—*Latin Edition.*]

[24.] *For, &c.*: Compare § 20. *Needless: &c.*: It is not necessary to employ roughness; and moreover it is a cause of discontent.

[25.] *Authority*: a man of authority and power. ['De loco superiore.'—*Latin Edition.*]

[26.] *Facility*: readiness of compliance; easiness to be persuaded, or, too great easiness of access. 'It is a great error to take *facility* for good nature; tenderness without discretion is no more than a mere pardonable folly.'—*L'Estrange*.

Idle respects: trifling considerations, or, undeserved predilections. 'Whatsoever secret *respects* were likely to move them.'—*Hooker*.

"To the public good
Private *respects* must yield."—*Milton*.

Without: Supply the ellipsis. *To respect, &c.*: Compare Prov. 28: 21.

[27.] *That*: used for 'what,' or 'that which.' *Some, &c.*: Paraphrase the clause. *Omnium, &c.*: 'By the consent of all, he would have been judged capable of ruling, if he had not ruled.' *Solus, &c.*: 'Vespasian alone of emperors was changed for the better;' (or, 'of the emperors, Vespasian alone changed for the better, after his accession.'—*D.*)

that was anciently spoken, "A place showeth the man; and it showeth some to the better, and some to the worse:" "*omnium consensu, capax imperii, nisi imperasset,*" saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, "*solus imperantium Vespasianus mulatus in melius;*" though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured [28] sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends; for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All [29]

Affection: feeling, tenderness. The *Antitheta* has this sentiment: 'Honores faciunt et virtutes et vitia conspicua; itaque illas provocant, hæc refrænant;' i. e. 'High place makes conspicuous both virtues and vices; accordingly it incites to the one and restrains the other.'

[28.] *Amends:* Give a synonyme. *Whom honor, &c.:* Better: 'When a man is amended by honor.' *In ambition:* in the pursuit of place, or honor. *In authority:* Supply the ellipsis. ['Ita virtus in ambitu violentior est, in honore adepto sedatior.']

[29.] *To side a man's self:* to lean towards one side or party.

Sir Walter Scott (in 'Kenilworth') describes the policy of Elizabeth as conforming to the policy here indicated:—"Elizabeth, like many of her sex, was fond of governing by factions, so as to balance two opposing interests, and reserve in her own hand the power of making either predominate, as the interest of the state, or perhaps as her own female caprice (for to that foible even she was not superior) might finally determine. To finesse—to hold the cards—to oppose one interest to another—to bridle him who thought himself highest in her esteem, by the fears he must entertain of another equally trusted, if not equally beloved, were acts which she used through her reign, and which enabled her, though frequently giving way to the

rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed.

[30] Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be

[31] paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not

[32] for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers

to suitors; but let it rather be said, "When he sits in place he is another man."

weakness of favoritism, to prevent most of its evil effects on her kingdom and government."—*Chap. XIV.*

Balance himself: to incline to neither party.

[30.] *Sure be paid: surely be paid.* How paid, and by whom?

[31.] *Look, &c.:* Give an equivalent expression.

[32.] *Too remembering. &c.:* Express the idea in other words. Condensation, affability, and familiarity in private intercourse are here enjoined.

Sits in place: attends to official and public duties. Paraphrase the last clause. [Ne sis loci tui nimis memor, aut crebra de eo mentionem facias, in quotidianis sermonibus, aut conversatione privata; sed, &c.—*Latin Edition.*]

1. Analyse the Essay, and divide it correctly into paragraphs.

2. Re-write the Essay in a clear, and ornate style, such as would suit the cultivated taste of the present day, presenting faithfully the thoughts of the Author.

3. Point out the obsolete words or phrases, or those that have become changed in meaning, since Bacon's time.

4. Point out examples of the balanced sentence.

5. Examine the Essay, and ascertain where it may be improved by increasing or reducing the number of sentences.

6. Point out examples of the condensed sentence or clause, involving Ellipsis. Bacon seems to affect brevity, condensation, point. He leaves often to his reader the task of supplying words necessary to a full expression of the thought. Such a style, however, is not to be indulged too freely, nor at the expense of clearness.

ESSAY VII.

ATHEISM.

ANALYSIS. Why God never wrought miracles to refute Atheism. The comparative influence of a superficial and of a profound acquaintance with philosophy. The Greek school most accused of Atheism, bears conclusive evidence to religion. The testimony of Scripture in regard to the Atheist. Atheism dwells upon the lip rather than in the understanding. Why Atheism strives to gain disciples, and atheists are willing sometimes to suffer rather than to recant. The opinion of Epicurus respecting Deity. Plato's opinion. Indian savages take part with acute Pagan philosophers against Atheists. Contemplative Atheists are fewer than they seem to be. The reason given.

The causes of Atheism are (1) the many divisions in religion; (2) the scandalous lives of priests; (3) the custom of scoffing in holy matters; (4) learning, combined with peace and prosperity. They who deny a God deny the nobility of man, destroy magnanimity and progress in moral improvement in nations as well as individuals.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the [1] Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that

[1.] *I had rather*: What is a préférable form of expression?

Legend: (Lat. *legenda, things to be read*), a book recording the lives of saints and martyrs, and portions of which were appointed to be read in Romish churches. Though containing many ridiculous and miraculous stories, it was much studied in monasteries, and recommended to the people as affording evidence in support of the Romish faith. The Golden Legend (written by the Archbishop of Genoa in the thirteenth century), though abounding in silly stories, was very popular for two hundred years, but afterwards fell into neglect. Some of the stories, however, are said to be of a highly poetic character;

this universal frame is without a mind ; and, therefore, God never wrought miracles to convince atheism,

and to form an oasis amid the desert of imaginative writings in the middle ages. Some of the Legends tell of certain saints walking with their heads off, preaching to the fishes, sailing over the sea on a cloak, &c., &c. The *Talmud* was a collection of the *unwritten* or traditionary laws of the Jews, and thus distinguished from the *written* law of Moses. It is regarded by many of that people as more sacred than the law of Moses, and relates to doctrines, polity, and ceremonies. It abounds in wonderful narratives. The Talmud of Jerusalem consists of the *Mishna* and the *Gemara*, the former written one hundred and twenty years after the destruction of the Jewish temple; the other, one hundred years later. The Babylonish Talmud is more consulted and valued. It consists of a commentary on the Mishna (which is an exposition or extension of the Law), and was compiled by Rabbi Aser about five hundred years after Christ.

The *Alcoran* is the Mohammedan Bible, dictated to the prophet (as it claims) by the angel Gabriel. It is written in a style of musical prose. The Mohammedans regard the book itself as a standing miracle, and as a proof of the truth of their religion.

To convince atheism: to prove it false. *I had rather believe, &c.:* It is evident from this that Bacon had seized the just view respecting *credulity*; seeing plainly that 'to disbelieve is to believe.' If one man believes that there is a God, and another that there is no God, whichever holds the less reasonable of these two opinions is chargeable with credulity. For, the only way to avoid credulity and incredulity—the two necessarily going together—is to listen to, and yield to, the best evidence, and to believe and disbelieve on good grounds. And however imperfectly we may understand the attributes of God—the 'mind of this universal frame,' the proof of the existence of a Being possessed of them is most clear and full; being, in fact, the very same evidence on which we believe in the existence of one another. How do we know that men exist? (i. e. not merely beings having a certain visible bodily form—for that is not chiefly what we imply by the word Man,—but

because his ordinary works convince it. It is [2] true that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity; nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism, doth most demonstrate religion; that is, the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus: for it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable elements and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small por-

rational agents, such as we call men.) Surely not by the *immediate* evidence of our senses (since mind is not an object of sight), but by observing *the things performed*—the manifest result of rational contrivance. If we land in a strange country, doubting whether it be inhabited, as soon as we find, for instance, a boat, or a house, we are as perfectly certain that a man has been there, as if he had appeared before our eyes. Yet the Atheist believes that 'this universal frame is without a mind;' that it was the production of chance; that the particles of matter of which the world consists, moved about at random, and accidentally fell into the shape it now bears. Surely the atheist has little reason to boast his 'incredulity,' while believing any thing so strange and absurd as that 'an army of infinitely small portions or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal.'—*Whately*.

The first sentence should be divided into two, leaving out *and therefore*.

[2.] This sentence furnishes ample material for three—the first ending with the word *religion*, the second (omitting *for*) ending with the word *Deity*. *Religion*: the recognition of God as an object of supreme worship, love and obedience.

tions, or seeds unplaced, should have produced this [3] order and beauty without a divine marshal. The

Confederate: united for mutual support. *Epicurus*: For an account of his system, turn back to Essay 1, § 14.

A little philosophy, &c.: It has been suggested that this passage probably contains the germ of Pope's famous lines :—

"A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

Bacon refers to natural philosophy. [*Parum philosophia naturalis.*—*Latin Edition.*] *Confederate*: Synonyme?

Leucippus: a Greek philosopher of Abdera, the originator of the famous doctrine that the world was formed by the fortuitous concourse of atoms. It was adopted and more fully developed by Democritus and Epicurus. Democritus, the disciple of the latter, denied the soul's immortality. He is supposed to be the parent of the experimental philosophy, and was the first man who taught that the Milky Way is an assemblage of stars.

Four mutable elements: Democritus, Aristotle, and other great philosophers of antiquity, fixed the number to four, which have retained the name of elements ever since. These are fire, air, earth and water; each of which, they imagined, was naturally disposed to hold its own place in the universe. Thus, the earth as heaviest, naturally tended towards the centre, and occupied the lower parts; the water was spread chiefly on the outside of the earth; the air, being more subtile and rare, occupied the middle place; while the fire, being still more subtile and active, receded to the greatest distance of all, and was supposed to compose the planets and stars. This system was extended to all the productions of nature.—*London Encyc.*

What does modern Chemistry say to the above theory of the ancients?

Fifth essence: Spirit. *Small portions*: atoms.

Unplaced: having no fixed position, but wandering fortuitously, without order. [*Exercitum atomorum et seminum infinitorum, sine ordine fortuito vagantium.*—*Latin Edition.*]

[3.] *The fool, &c.*: Psalm 14: 1. *Heart*: in scripture often stands for the soul—all the mental and moral powers. So interpreted here by Bacon. *So as*: so that. See

scripture saith, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God;" it is not said, "The fool hath thought in his heart;" so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more that athe- [4] ism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the opinion of others; nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus- is charged [5]

Essay III, § 23. *That he, &c.*: here used for *what he*, or *that which he*; as in the English Liturgy—"to do always *that* is righteous in thy sight."

For whom it maketh: For whom it is the [supposed] interest, or for whose [seeming] advantage it is. They are not on such good terms with God, as to make the thought of his existence and supremacy agreeable.

[4.] *Fainted in it*: were feeble in the belief of it.

Opinion of others: In some editions, 'consent of others.'

Fareth: happeneth. *You shall have, &c.*: Give an equivalent expression. The sentence may be improved by changing the order of some of the words: 'That atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, appeareth in nothing more than by this, that atheists, &c.' A new sentence should commence with, 'Nay more, &c.'

For some admirable observations on the folly of Atheism, consult Foster's Essays—Letter V. of Essay I.

[5.] *Blessed natures*: Gods. *Dissemble*: act the hypocrite.

Wherein: Here a new sentence should begin.

that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed that there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God: but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: "*Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed* [6] *vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum.*" Plato could have said no more; and, although he had the

After say supply that. *Temporize:* yield to the current of common opinion. *Non, &c.:* 'It is not profane to deny the [existence of the] gods of the common people; but it is profane to apply to the gods the received notions of the common people.'—*Diog. Laert. X, 123.*

But certainly he is traduced: It is remarkable that Bacon, like many others very conversant with ancient mythology, failed to perceive that the Pagan nations were in reality atheists. They mistake altogether the real character of the Pagan religions. They imagine that all men, in every age and country, had always designed to worship one Supreme God, the Maker of all things; and that the error of the Pagans consisted merely in the false accounts they gave of him, and in their worshipping other inferior gods besides. But this is altogether a mistake. Bacon was in this misled by words, as so many have been—the very delusion he so earnestly warns men against. The Pagans used the word 'God;' but in a different sense from us. For by the word 'God' we understand an Eternal being who made and who governs all things. And if any one should deny that there is any such Being, we should say that he was an atheist; even though he might believe that there do exist Beings *superior to Man*, such as the Fairies and Genii, in whom the uneducated in many parts of Europe still believe. (Compare Ephes. 2: 12; Rom. 1: 25; Acts. 14: 15.)—*Whately.*

[6.] *Confidence:* assurance, boldness.

"Your wisdom is consumed in confidence:
Do not go forth to-day."—*Shakespeare.*

confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the [7] West have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God; as if the heathens should have had the names of Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c., but not the word Deus, which shows, that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it; so that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare, a Diagoras, a [8]

[7.] *Of the West*: Of the American continent. *The latitude*: the [full] breadth. *Against atheists*: Notice the just emphasis given by this location of the words.

Diagoras: an Athenian philosopher, who from the grossest superstition went over to Atheism. He was proscribed by the Areopagus for speaking against the gods in ridicule and contempt, and is supposed to have died at Corinth. *Bion*: a Greek philosopher, a disciple of Theodorus the atheist, to whose opinion he adhered. His life is said to have been profligate, and his death superstitious. *Lucian* ridiculed the follies and pretensions of some of the ancient philosophers; but though the freedom of his style was such as to cause him to be censured for impiety, he hardly deserves the stigma of atheism here cast upon him by the learned author.—D.

[8.] *Contemplative*: Give synonyms. *More*: more [numerous]. *For that all that*: an exceedingly inelegant and almost unintelligible combination of words. Substitute in their place, 'For all who, &c.' *Which are*: *Who are*, in modern form of speech. We meet the same thing in the common version of the Scriptures *So as*: so that.

Cauterized: rendered morally insensible. The cauterizing or burning of flesh deprives it of the power of sensation. The last member of this sentence, commencing with *but the great*, should have formed the beginning of a new sentence, *but* being stricken out. It would be better removed at any rate, not only as being needless, but on account of the use of the same word soon after.

Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others, and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists; but the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs [9] be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if there be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism: another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, "*non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos;*" a third is, a custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and, lastly, learned times, especially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. [10] They that deny a God destroy a man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base [11] and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise mag-

[9.] *Scandal of priests*: reproach brought by them on religion.

Non, &c.: 'It is not now to be said.—As is the people, so is the priest; because the people is not as the priest,' (or, 'are not even so bad as the priest.'—D.)

Deface: Give the synonymes. How does it differ in meaning from *efface*?

Learned times: Expand this phrase.

St. Bernard: Abbot of Clairvaux, preached the second crusade against the Saracens, and was unsparing in his censures of the sins then prevalent among the Christian priesthood. His writings are voluminous, and by some he has been considered as the latest of the fathers of the Church.—D.

This sentence is faulty at the beginning. It should have read:—'The causes of atheism are five:—First, divisions, &c.'

[11.] *Magnanimity*: that elevation of mind which prompts one to labor and to make sacrifices for great and noble objects.

nanimity, and the raising human nature; for, take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a god, or "*melior natura*;" which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he [12] resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations; [13] never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome; of this state hear what Cicero saith: "*Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione; atque hac una sapientia, quod*

How is this word distinguished from *nobility* in the preceding sentence? *Raising*: What word should have been supplied?

An: better *the*. *Melior natura*: a better (or superior) nature. *Confidence*: firm belief or impression.

Quam, &c.: 'Let us be as partial to ourselves as we will, Conscript Fathers, yet we have not surpassed the Spaniards in number, nor the Gauls in strength, nor the Carthagenians in cunning, nor the Greeks in the arts, nor, lastly, the Latins and Italians of this nation and land, in natural intelligence about home matters; but we have excelled all nations and people in piety and religion, and in this one wisdom of fully recognizing that all things are ordered and governed by the power [and providence] of the immortal gods.'—*Cic. De Har. Resp.* 9.

[12.] This sentence should be divided into two, after the semi-colon.

Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus."

[18.] This sentence should end at the word *Rome*, and another be composed of what remains.

1. Paraphrase the above Essay, presenting the thoughts in a modern and approved style, and attending to a proper arrangement in sentences and paragraphs.

2. Definition of *Legend*? Give an account of those of the middle ages.

3. The Talmud, Mishna, and Gemara?

4. The Alcoran?

5. What constitutes credulity? The true method of avoiding credulity and incredulity? State the excellent argument here offered by Whately for the existence of God.

6. Give an account of Leucippus, and Democritus.

7. Mistake about the Pagan religions exposed?

8. Who were Diagoras, Bion, and Lucian? St. Bernard

9. Point out the obsolete words or phrases, if any; or such as have undergone a change of signification since Bacon wrote.

10. Point out 'balanced' sentences.

ESSAY VIII.

SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, [1] than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the

[1.] *Superstition*: This word has no precise meaning, and learned men cannot agree upon its exact derivation. It is derived indeed from a Latin word signifying 'a standing over,' but how the various uses of the word are derived from that is a matter difficult to decide. Webster's account of it is as plausible as any other, namely, '*a standing still over something dreadful or amazing; hence an excessive reverence or fear of that which is unknown or mysterious, especially an ignorant or irrational worship of the Deity; excessive exactness in religious opinion or practice; unnecessary scruples in the observance of religious rites not commanded by God, or of points of slight importance. It is used also to denote the worship of false gods.*

The word is also extended to those who believe in witchcraft, magic and apparitions; or who believe that the divine will is declared by omens or augury; that the fortunes of individuals can be affected by things indifferent, by things deemed lucky or unlucky, or that diseases can be cured by words, charms, and incantations. Through all these various superstitions there runs one general idea, the belief of what is false and contrary to reason. But this does not prove that whatever is false and contrary to reason may be denominated superstition. Superstition has always a reference to God, to religion, or to beings superior to man. We do not, however, distinguish all false and irrational opinions in religion by the name of superstition. It was a name which the ancient philosophers gave to those who entertained mean opinions of the gods, or did foolish things to obtain their favor. Though superstition be generally the mark of a weak mind, yet such is the infirmity of human nature that we find many instances of it among men of the most sub-

one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly [2] superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: "Surely," saith he, "I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such a man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as

lime genius and intellectual culture. Socrates believed that he was guided by a demon. Lord Verulam believed in witchcraft, and relates that he was cured of warts by rubbing them with a piece of lard with the skin on, and then nailing it with the fat towards the sun on the post of a chamber window.—*London Encyc.*

It were better, &c.: Here is a specimen of the contradictions, of which, if we will, we may find many in the works of Bacon. He has previously said [Essay VII] that he prefers superstition to atheism; he now says that he prefers atheism to superstition. With the former declaration he begins his discourse against atheism; with the latter his discourse against superstition. Which of the two did Bacon really prefer to the other? Let the reasons be examined which he opposes to each, and it will be found that they are more numerous and strong against superstition than against atheism. Thus the contradiction which exists in his words is solved in his own mind. Indeed it only exists in the minds of superficial readers.—*Prof. Fischer.*

The one, &c.: The justice of this position is perhaps somewhat doubtful. The superstitious man *must* have *some* scruples, while he who believes not in God (if there is such a person) *needs* have *none*.—*D.*

Superstition seems to be used by Bacon as meaning an unworthy, degrading conception of God, and conduct legitimately flowing from such a conception.

[3.] *I had, &c.*: Plutarch, *De Superstit.* 10. Time was personified in *Saturn*, and by this story was meant its tendency to destroy whatever it has brought into existence.—*D.*

Saturn: One of the principal divinities in Pagan mythology—the son of Cœlus and Terra, and the father of Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto. He is fabled to have devoured all his sons by his wife Rhea or Cybele.

they were born," as the poets speak of Saturn; and as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to [3] sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not: but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men; therefore atheism did never perturb

[3.] *Were not*: existed not. *Atheism did never perturb States*: It may perhaps be inferred from this remark that Bacon entertained an opinion, held by some, that persons indifferent about all religions are the most likely to be tolerant of all, and to be averse to persecution and coercion. But this is a mistaken notion. Most persons perhaps are tolerant or intolerant according to their respective *tempers*, and not according to their *principles*. But as far as principles are concerned, certainly the latitudinarian is more likely to be intolerant, and the sincerely conscientious tolerant. A man who is careless about religious sincerity may clearly see and appreciate the political convenience of religious uniformity, and if he has no religious scruples of his own, he will not be the more likely to be tender of the religious scruples of others; if he is ready himself to profess what he does not believe, he will see no reason why others should not do the same.—*Whately*.

Perturb: disturb. 'They are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather than *perturb* the public peace.'—*Charles I.*

Civil: quiet, orderly, peaceful. *Primum mobile*: literally, first cause of motion, (or primary motive power.) The name was applied, in the Ptolemaic system of Bacon's time, to the outermost of the concentric spheres in which the heavenly bodies were supposed to be placed, and which gave motion to all the others. *Ravisheth*: violently carries away.

"This hand shall *ravish* thy pretended right."—*Dryden*.

Spheres: employments, provinces, duties. 'Every man, versed in any particular business, finds fault with these authors, so far as they treat of matters within his *sphere*.'—*Addison*.

"Ye know the *spheres* and various tasks assigned
By laws eternal to the *etherial* kind."—*Pope*.

states, for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no farther, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times; but superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new "*primum mobile*," that ravisheth [4] all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools, and arguments are fitted to practice [5] in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some

[4.] *The master of superstition is the people:* Mankind have an innate propensity, as to other errors, so to that of endeavoring to serve God by proxy; to commit to some distinct Order of men the care of their religious concerns, in the same manner as they confide the care of their bodily health to the physician and of their legal transactions to the lawyer; deeming it sufficient to follow implicitly their directions, without attempting themselves to become acquainted with the mysteries of medicine or of law. For Man, except when unusually depraved, retains enough of the image of his Maker, to have a natural reverence for religion, and a desire that God should be worshipped; but, through the corruption of his nature, his heart is (except when divinely purified) too much alienated from God to take delight in serving him. Hence the disposition men have shown, to substitute the devotion of the priest for their own; to leave the duties of piety in his hands, and let him serve God *in their stead*. This disposition is not so much the consequence as itself the origin of priestcraft.—*Whately*.

Are fitted to practice, &c.: yield to artifice, or management, order being perverted. [Argumenta practicæ succumbunt, ordine perverso.—*Latin Edition*.]

[5.] *Council of Trent:* assembled by Paul III in 1545, and continued until 1563. Its decrees related to the chief points in dispute between the Reformers and the Papacy—transubstantiation, image worship, &c., and were designed to overthrow the Protestant movement.

Schoolmen: These learned men flourished in the dark ages, beginning with John Scotus Erigena, a native of Ireland, born in the ninth century. He

of the prelates in the council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bore great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to save the phenomena, though they knew there were no such things; and in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the church. The [6]

first introduced the philosophy of Aristotle, which he combined with that of the New Platonists, and thus constructed a system of Pantheism. In the course of a century these speculations were applied by schoolmen to the purpose of explaining the leading facts of Christianity. To combat these heretics with their own weapons, the Aristotelian philosophy was adopted by the leading divines of that day. The scholastic philosophy lost its influence at the close of the fourteenth century.

Eccentrics: i. e. irregular or anomalous movements—referring to the figments of the Ptolemaic astronomy, designed to account for existing phenomena pertaining to the heavenly bodies. The *Epicycle* was an imaginary smaller circle revolving about a center which is in the circumference of a large one. This system continued in vogue till the fifteenth century.

To save: to account for, or to explain. *To save the practice, &c.*: to secure themselves against (or, perhaps, to support) the adroit management of the church. The word *save* in this clause, would seem to be used in a different sense from the same word in the preceding clause, judging from what we read in the Latin edition, where different words are used in these clauses, respectively. [Quo phænomena *servarent* . . . quo practicæ ecclesiæ *caverent*.]

[6.] *The causes, &c.*: The attributing of some sacred efficacy to the performance of an *outward act*, or the presence of some *material object*, without any of the inward devotion of the heart being required to accompany it, is one of the most prevailing characteristics of superstition. Empty forms not only supersede piety by standing in its place, but gradually alter the habits of the mind, and render it unfit for the exercise of genuine pious sentiment. Our very prayers, for example, and our

causes of superstition are pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined [7] with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed: and, as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty [8] observances. There is a superstition in avoiding

perusal of the holy scriptures, become superstitions, in proportion as any one expects them to operate as a charm—attributing efficacy to the mere words, while his feelings and thoughts are not occupied in what he is doing.—*Whately*. *Sensual*

rites: rites affecting and pleasing the senses. *Traditions*: religious devotions, rites, practices, &c. handed down orally from one generation to another. *Load*: burden, encumber, corrupt.

Intentions: aims or motives, not sanctioned by scripture or reason. *Conceits*: Synonyme? *Taking*

an aim at, &c.: the judging or conceiving of divine matters, &c. The Latin Edition conveys a somewhat different idea:—

‘*Exemplorum importuna et inepta petitio ab humanis, quæ in divina transferantur.*’ *Imaginations*: Synonyme?

[8.] *There is a superstition*: a [liability to] superstition.

Care should, &c.: [Itaque curæ esse debet, in religione reformanda (ut fit in corpore purgando) ne sana cum corruptis simul evacuentur.—*Latin Edition*.]

It seems fit, in a concluding note, to give an account of some of the singular superstitions which prevailed about the time of Bacon, and in some of which, we have reason to believe that

superstition, when men think to do best if they go farthest from the superstition formerly received ; therefore

he fully acquiesced. " The blank created by the banishment of religion in the earlier part of this period required still to be filled with something spiritual, and jugglers and hobgoblins usurped the vacancy. Men who defied all sacred sanctions, could quake at some unexpected but natural phenomenon, and the appearance of a comet in 1618 actually frightened the English court into a temporary fit of gravity. Such *omens* as the falling of a portrait from the wall, the croaking of a raven, the crossing of a hare in one's path, the upsetting of salt, the unexpected crowing of a cock, could disturb the most swaggering cavalier. As for the learned of this period, their favorite mode of divination was called the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, or the opening at hazard of a copy of Virgil's *Æneid*, and reading a revelation of futurity in the first passage that struck the eye. From this general tendency of all classes, *divination* became a thriving trade, and almost every street had its cunning man, or its cunning woman, who divined for the learned by astrological calculations, and for the ignorant by the oracle of the sieve and shears. When the civil wars commenced, and every hour was fraught with some great event, this natural eagerness to anticipate the future became so intense, that the stars were more studied than the diurnals [daily papers], and Cavaliers and Roundheads thronged to the astrologers to learn the events of the succeeding week. Another favorite superstition of the period was the *exorcising of demons*. When the possessed person began to spout Latin and other learned languages of which he was wholly ignorant, the Romish priest took the field against this erudite demon in full pontificals, armed with holy water, and the book of exorcisms. Such practices, however, were not confined to the Romish clergy. The Puritans took the alarm, and set up for exorcists in turn; and as nervous diseases were abundant among them, they sometimes crowded around the bed of some crazy hypochondriac who was supposed to be possessed by a devil, and whom they stunned with prayers and adjurations. This popular belief in demon-possession had not even the merit of a poetical dignity to apologize for its absurdities. The following names of some of the ejected devils

care should be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

may suffice to show of how prosaic and grovelling a character it was in all respects: Lusty Dick and Hob, and Corner Cap and Puff, Purr and Flibberdigibbet, Wilkin and Smolkin, Lusty Jolly Jenkin, Pudding of Thame, Pour Dieu, Bonjour and Maho."—*Craik's Hist. Eng.*, Vol. III, p. 638.

1. Analyse the Essay, and divide it into Paragraphs.
2. Paraphrase the whole Essay, presenting the Author's thoughts clearly and fully. Divide § 3 into three sentences, and § 8 into two.
3. *Superstition*: Give Webster's account of its etymology and meaning—then, other meanings attached to it. What general idea runs through all the definitions? To what has Superstition always a reference? To whom did the ancient philosophers ascribe Superstition? Instances of strong minds being chargeable with it?
4. The story of Saturn—its interpretation? Bacon and Whately's opinion concerning the tolerant spirit of Atheism?
5. The Primum Mobile? How is it shown that the people is the master of Superstition?
6. The date and design of the Council of Trent? The Schoolmen?
7. One of the most prevailing characteristics of Superstition?
8. Point out obsolete words or phrases, if any.
9. What were some of the superstitions of Bacon's time?

ESSAY IX.

DELAYS.

FORTUNE is like the market, where many times, [1] if you can stay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth

[1.] This matter of 'Delays' is one in which, as Sir Roger de Coverley might have decided, much may be said on both sides. The rules which Bacon does give are very good; but, as it has been well observed, 'genius begins where rules end,' and there is no matter wherein rules can go a less way, or wherein there is more call for what may be called practical genius: that is, a far-sighted sagacity, as to the probable results of taking or not taking a certain step, and a delicate tact in judging of the peculiar circumstances of each case.—*Whately.*

Fortune: in the sense of *success*.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to *fortune*."—*Shakespeare.*

The first sentence should have ended with the word *price*; and the other have begun with *Occasion*. *Sibylla's offer*: Sibyl is a name applied to a few prophetic women who, in early ages, are said to have resided in Greece and Italy. The most famous was the Sibyl of Cumæ, who is said to have offered for sale to Tarquin the Proud nine documents alleged to unfold the fates of Rome; but he declining to pay the price asked for them, she retired and burnt three of them. The remainder she offered to the king on the same terms as the nine, which offer being refused, she went away again and burnt three more. For the three that remained she demanded again the original price for all, and the king paid it, fearing that he might otherwise lose the only opportunity to secure them. *Part and part*: one part after another. Bacon in his *Antitheta* gives the sentiment thus:—'Fortuna multa festinanti vendit, quibus morantem donat;' i. e. 'Fortune often *sells* to the hasty what

the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price; for occasion (as it is in the common verse) turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front and no hold taken; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, [2] and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There surely is no greater wisdom than well to time the beginning [3] nings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them; nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he [4] will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived

she gives to those who wait.' *Occasion*: 'Opportunity,' here personified. The *Antitheta* thus presents the thought:—'Occasio, instar Sibyllæ, minuit oblatum, pretium auget;' i. e. 'Opportunity, like the Sibyl, diminishes her offering and increases her price.' *Bald noddle*: bald head. He alludes to the common saying, "take time by the forelock."—*D.*

[2.] *To time, &c.*: Paraphrase this clause. *Onset*: first brunt, or development.

"Observe
The first impetuous onsets of his grief."—*Phillips.*

[3.] *Dangers, &c.*: Paraphrase the first two clauses. In the Latin edition:—'Non jam levis sunt pericula, si levis videantur; et plura pericula fefellerunt, quam vim intulerunt.'

Nothing near: not at all near. 'The influence of reason in producing our passions, is *nothing near* so extensive as is commonly believed.—*Burke.* *It is odds*: it is probable; it is more likely than the contrary.

[4.] *Deceived, &c.*: Explain the deception referred to, and the illustration given. *To shoot off, &c.*: This error of taking some step prematurely, or of doing at one stride what had better have been done gradually, arises often, in a sensible man, from a sense of the shortness and uncertainty of life, and

with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over-early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said), must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed; for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in counsel, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once

an impatience to 'see of the labor of his soul and be satisfied,' instead of leaving his designs to be carried into execution, or to be completed, by others who may perhaps not do the work so well, or may be defeated by some rally of opponents. And sometimes it is even wise, under the circumstances, to proceed more hastily than would have been advisable if one could have been sure of being able to proceed without obstacles.—*Whately*.

Buckling: setting out for the contest; hastening towards.

"Soon he buckled to the field."—*Spenser*.

[5.] *Argus*: son of Inachus (in Grecian fable). According to Ovid only two of the hundred eyes were ever asleep at a time. *Briareus*: a fabulous giant. He and his two brothers (sons of Coelus and Terra) had each one hundred hands.

It is good, &c.: Give a full paraphrase. *The ends*: the consummation, or the conclusion. *To speed*: to hasten to a conclusion; to execute. *Pluto*: the fabled ruler of the infernal regions, or abode of the dead. He was also called *Hades*, which denotes 'invisible.' Homer describes him as possessing a helmet which rendered invisible the one who wore it. Minerva wore it when aiding Diomedes against Mars.—*Iliad* V, 845.

"And Pallas to elude his sight

The helmet fixed of Aides on her head."—*Cowper's Homer*.

come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which fieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

Politician : politician, or statesman. *Come to the execution* : come to a state of readiness for execution. Bacon in his *Antitheta* tersely says :—‘*Celeritas, Orci galea;*’ i. e. ‘Celerity is the helmet of Orcus,’ (another name for Pluto.) *Swift* : for *swiftly*. *As* : *that*.

1. Furnish an Analysis of the Essay. Divide the Essay into Paragraphs. Present the exact thoughts of the Author in a more easy, flowing, and popular style.

2. The reference to Sir Roger de Coverley [one of the most famous characters in Addison's *Spectator*] ? What, besides rules, is necessary to aid us in determining whether to act or to delay ?

3. The story of the Sibyl ?

4. Whence often arises the error of taking a premature step ? Does this Essay contain any obsolete words or phrases, or any that have undergone a change of signification since Bacon wrote ?

5. Describe Argus and Briareus; also, Pluto

ESSAY X.

CUNNING.

WE take cunning for a sinister, or crooked [1] wisdom ; and certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in

[1.] *Cunning* : from the Anglo-Saxon word *Kunnan*, *to know*, *to be able*, is one of those words which have gradually lost their good meaning, and have acquired, or been confined to, a bad one. Formerly this word implied superior skill, proficiency in any thing. Now this use of the word has nearly ceased, and it commonly denotes artifice, deceit, dissimulation, the faculty or the act of using fraud or deception in accomplishing a purpose.

'Send me now a man *cunning* to work in gold or silver.'—*2 Chronicles*.

'Let my right hand forget her *cunning*.'—*Psalms* 137 : 5.

"An altar carved with *cunning* imagery."—*Spenser*.

"Schoolmasters will I keep within my house,
Fit to instruct her youth. To *cunning* men
I will be very kind."—*Shakespeare*.

The above are examples of the ancient use of the word ; of the later use are the following :

'Discourage *cunning* in a child ; cunning is the ape of wisdom.'—*Locke*.

"Such fate to suffering worth is given,
Who long with wants and woes has striven,
By human pride or *cunning* driven
To misery's brink."—*Burns*.

It is very common to use *softened* expressions of any thing odious. Most of the words, accordingly, which now denote something offensive, were originally *euphemisms*, and gradually became appropriated to a bad sense. Thus 'wicked' must have originally meant 'lively,' being formed from 'quick,' or 'wick,' i. e. *alive*. This latter is the word now in use in Cum-

[2] point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and fac-

berland for 'alive.' And hence the *live*—i. e. burning—part of a lamp or candle, is called the *wick*.—*Whately*.

Sinister: crooked. Give the synonyms.

[2.] *There be, &c.*: Those whom Bacon here so well describes are men of a clear and quick sight, but short-sighted. They are ingenious in particulars, but cannot take a comprehensive view of the whole. One who is clever, but not wise—skillful in the details of any transaction, but erroneous in his whole system of conduct—resembles a clock whose *minute-hand* is in good order, but the *hour-hand loose*: so that while it measures accurately small portions of time, it is, on the whole, perhaps several hours wrong.

It is indeed an unfortunate thing for the public that the cunning pass for wise—that those whom Bacon compares [in the last paragraph of the Essay] to 'a house with convenient stairs and entry, but never a fair room,' should be the men who (accordingly) are the most likely to rise to high office. The art of *gaining* power, and that of *using* it well, are too often found in different persons.—*Whately*.

Pack the cards: put them together and arrange them so as to gain the game unfairly. Thus inferior players are able to succeed.

"And mighty dukes *pack cards* for half a crown."—*Pope*.

"Enos has

Packed cards with Cæsar, and played false."—*Shakspeare*.

Canvasses: close inspection of votes to ascertain their number. *Canvass* primarily meant a coarse cloth used for sifting, and so came, metaphorically, to denote a process or act of sifting, or examining; an examination by means of discussion, as 'a thorough *canvass* of a subject;' also a solicitation of votes, or office, or some other favor, as, for example, 'this crime of *canvassing*, or soliciting, for church preferment, is, by the canon law, called simony.'

tions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is [3] one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter [4]

[3.] *Perfect, &c.*: Supply the ellipsis. *Which, &c.*: To what does *which* refer? *Constitution*: condition, property, peculiarity.

[4.] *Alley*: narrow way or passage. *Lost their aim*: To what is allusion here made? State the idea in other words. *So as*: so that. *Mitte, &c.*: Send both naked among strangers, and thou shalt know.' *To set forth, &c.*: to display the contents of their shop. *Haberdashers*: This word is used in its primitive sense of "retail dealers." It is said to be derived from a custom of the Flemings, who first settled in England in the fourteenth century, stopping the passengers and saying to them, "Haber das herr?"—"Will you take this, sir?" The word is now used as synonymous with linen-draper.—D.

The aristocracy still [in Bacon's time] looked down upon traffickers with disdain, and elbowed them from the wall; and a fashionable comedy was not thought racy enough unless some vulgar flat-cap was introduced, to be robbed of his "daughter and his ducats" by some needy and profligate adventurer. But, in spite of the ridicule of court and of theatre, the merchants and shopkeepers went on and prospered. The London shops of the seventeenth century were still little booths or cellars, generally without doors or windows; and in lieu of gilded sign, or tempting show-glass, the master took short turns before his door, crying: "What d'ye lack, sir?" "What d'ye lack, madam?" "What d'ye please to lack?" and then he rehearsed a list of the commodities in which he dealt. This task, when he became weary, was assumed by his 'prentice; and thus a London street was a Babel of strange sounds by which the wayfarer was dinned at every step. The articles of a dealer were often of a very heterogeneous description; these were huddled in bales and heaps within the little shop; and in

for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley; turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule to know a fool from a wise man, "*Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis,*" doth scarce hold for them; and because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

the midst of them might sometimes be seen the wife and daughters of the master, plying the needle or knitting-wires, and eyeing the passing crowd. But, although the shops and warehouses of the London traffickers were of such a small description, the houses were very different; so that even so early as the reign of James the dwellings of a chief merchant rivalled the palace of a nobleman in the splendor of its furniture. The mark of mercantile ambition was the mayoralty; the Lord Mayor's show was more than a Roman triumph in the eyes of a young civic aspirant; and Gog and Magog that towered over the scene became the gods of his idolatry.—*Cruik's His. Eng.*, Vol. III, 683, 684.

For a most amusing, graphic, life-like description of the shopkeepers and apprentices of London, at this period, do not fail to read the first chapter of Sir Walter Scott's '*Fortunes of Nigel*.' He represents the shops thus:—'The goods were exposed to sale in cases, only defended from the weather by a covering of canvass, and the whole resembled the stalls and booths now erected for the temporary accommodation of dealers at a country fair, rather than the established emporium of a respectable citizen. But most of the shopkeepers of note had their booth connected with a small apartment which opened backward from it, and bore the same resemblance to the front shop that Robinson Crusoe's cabin did to the tent which he erected before it.' He adds that 'the verbal proclaimers of the excellence of their commodities, had this advantage over those who, in the present day, use the public papers for the same purpose, that they could in many cases adapt their address to the peculiar appearance and apparent taste of the passengers.' He then illustrates this point, in his own inimitable way, in several instances.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with [5] whom you speak with your eyes, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances; yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to [6] obtain of present despatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary that never came [7] to queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of state, that she might less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things [8] when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

[5.] *To wait upon him with your eyes:* to look watchfully at him; to follow him with your eye. *Give it, &c.:* Express the idea in equivalent language. *That have, &c.:* have secrets in their minds which are revealed in the countenance, this being *transparent*, and thus allowing the secret thoughts to pass through, so as to be discovered. *Would:* used often by Bacon instead of *should*.

[6.] The recurrence of *with . . . with* in this sentence should have been avoided. How should it have been written?

Of present despatch: of present haste; requiring to be done or obtained at once.

Feigning delay, she wishes for *despatch*.—*Granville*.

Bacon (in his *Antitheta*) says:—‘To divert important business with a jest, is a base trick.’

[7.] *Put her into, &c.:* Paraphrase.

[8.] *By moving:* by *proposing* or discussing matters.

That is moved: that *which is proposed*, or discussed.

“Let me but *move* one question to your daughter.”—*Shakespeare*.

[9] If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

[10] The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

[11] And because it works better when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, "And I had not before that time been sad before the king."

[12] In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less

[9.] *Cross*: thwart, obstruct.

"In each thing give him way; *cross* him in nothing."—*Shakespeare*.

Doubts: *suspects*, fears. 'If they bring me out to be hanged to-morrow, as is much to be *doubted*, they may.'—*Sir Walter Scott*.
Move: Give its equivalent.

[10.] *That*: What does this stand for?

[11.] *You are wont*: Express the idea fully. *To the end*
&c.: What change of expression does elegance require?
And I had, &c.: *Nehemiah* 2: 1. *Matter*: cause.

[12.] *Tender*: Give the synonyme. *Narcissus, &c.*: He was freedman and secretary of the Emperor Claudius, whose unprincipled wife Messalina, during the absence of her husband at Ostia, openly married Silius, a young patrician. Narcissus alone dared to inform Claudius of the fact, but not until he had employed a woman to introduce the subject, who then asked another woman who was near at hand, to say whether

weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in him- [13] self, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, "The world says," or "There is a speech abroad."

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he [14] would put that which was most material in the post-script, as if it had been a bye matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have [15] speech, he would pass over that that he intended most; and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as a thing he had almost forgot.

he did not know the truth of the charge, and having answered affirmatively, Narcissus was then summoned into the Emperor's presence, and having apologized for his remissness in communicating to him the shameful intelligence concerning the flagitious conduct of the empress, he proceeded to divulge the facts of the case.—*Tacitus' Annals*, XI, 29, &c.

[13.] *Seen in himself*: Express the sentiment in other words.

[14.] *A bye matter*: a matter not of prime importance; a secondary matter; something accidentally suggested.

[15.] *I knew, &c.*: "I have known such men too. We have all known men who would come and talk about many indifferent things, and then at the end bring in as if accidentally the thing they came for. Always pull such men sharply up. Let them understand that you see through them. When they sit down, and begin to talk of the weather, the affairs of the district, the new railway, and so forth, say at once, 'Now, Mr. Pawky, I know you did not come to talk to me about these things. What is it you want to speak of? I am busy, and have no time to waste.' It is wonderful how this will beat down Mr. Pawky's guard. He is prepared for sly finesse, but

[16] Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon, will suddenly come upon them, and be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are unaccustomed, to the end that they may be apposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

[17] It is a point of cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage.

[18] I knew two who were competitors for the secretary's place, in queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept

he is quite taken aback by downright honesty. If you try to do him, he will easily do you; but perfect candor foils the crafty man, as the sturdy Highlander's broad-sword at once cuts down the French master of fence, vaporizing away with his rapier. You cannot beat a rogue with his own weapons. Try him with truth: like David, he 'has not proved' that armor; he is quite unaccustomed to it, and he goes down."—*Country Parson*, pp. 96, 97.

To have speech: to speak in his turn. *Forgot*: modern form.

[16.] *Procure*: Give an equivalent word. *Like*: for likely, probable. *Work upon*: seek to ensnare. [Cui insidiantur.—*Latin Edition*.] Change the form of expression

so as to avoid the repetition of *upon*. *And be*: What word must be supplied to make the grammatical construction and the meaning plain?

Unaccustomed: What does modern usage require to be supplied? *To the end*: Supply the word that is required.

Apposed: questioned, inquired of, a sense now obsolete.

"To *oppose* him without any accuser, and that secretly."—*Tyndale*.

The Court of Exchequer still has an officer who is called 'Foreign Apposer.'

[17.] *Take advantage*: an instance of decided ambiguity, which may and should be removed, by adding *of him*.

good quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it; the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declining of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it [19] was told the queen; who, hearing of a declination of monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning which we in England call [20] "The turning of the cat in the pan;" which is, when

[18.] This sentence should end with the first semi-colon. The following *and* should be omitted, in beginning a new sentence.

Two: Better, two men.

Good quarter: good

terms; good treatment; friendly intercourse.

"Friends, all but now

In quarter."—*Shakespeare*

Declination: decay, decline, deterioration.

"Summer is not looked on as a time

Of declination and decay."—*Waller.*

Affect: endeavor after, aim at.

"This proud man *affects* imperial sway.—*Dryden.*

Divers: several, more than one, but not many.

"*Divers* friends thought it strange."—*Boyle.*

'We have *divers* examples of this kind.'

Discoursed . . . that: an elliptical, and also inelegant, form of expression—improved thus: 'Discoursing . . . he remarked that, &c.'

[19.] *Found means it was told, &c.:* Express the thought more fully and clearly. *As she: that she.*

[20.] *The turning, &c.:* *To turn cat-in-pan,* supposed to be corrupted from *cate-in-pan* (*cate, for food or cake*)—*cake in*

that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

[21] It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives;

pan, or pan cake. This is usually turned by a dexterous toss on the part of the cook. A pan cake is, in Northamptonshire, England, still called a *pan-cake*. To turn cat-in-pan, is to *change sides, or one's party* in religion or politics; but this passage of Bacon shows that formerly the phrase had another meaning. *Lays it*: exhibits it. The modern phrase is, *lays it down*. 'Kircher *lays it down* as a certain principle that there never was, &c.' [Cum ea verba, quæ quis apud alium profert, imputat colloquenti, tanquam ab ipso prolata.—*Latia Edition.*]

[21.] *Towards*: in reference to. Tigellinus had by artful management, succeeded Burrhus in the command of the Prætorian guards at Rome (in joint commission with Fenius Rufus). Tigellinus contrived to ruin the credit of Rufus with Nero, and sought to advance his own power. This incident referred to by Bacon, is thus related by Tacitus (*Annals*, XIV, 57):—'Tigellinus found that the two persons whom the Emperor dreaded most were Plautus and Sylla; both lately removed out of Italy—the former into Asia, the latter into Narbon Gaul. Tigellinus began his secret hostilities against them both. He talked of their rank and high descent. Plautus, he observed, was not far distant from the armies in the East; and Sylla was near the legions in Germany. For himself, he had not, like Burrhus, the art of managing parties for his own advantage. The welfare of his sovereign was his only object. At Rome he could ensure the safety of the prince. But for distant provinces who could answer?'

Se non, &c.: 'He did not look to various hopes (or, 'have various hopes in view'), but solely to the safety of the emperor.'

By . . . by: It must have been noticed that Bacon's ear seems never to be offended by the recurrence of the same word within a short space. Frequent examples like this have been

as to say, "This I do not;" as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, "*Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*"

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, [22] as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more on guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape [23] the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in [24] wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how

pointed out. The sentence is badly constructed. It may be improved thus: 'Some men have a way of glancing and darting at others, when they justify themselves by negatives.'

[22.] *As there, &c.*: 'That there is nothing which they, &c.'
Wrap, &c.: infold it, conceal it, in a tale.

"Wise poets that *wrap* truth in tales
 Knew her themselves through all her veils."—*Carew*.

Thus did Nathan the prophet, when he sought to convict king David of an enormous crime.—2 *Sam.* XII.

On guard: Give an equivalent expression. One edition reads, 'in guard'—in for *on*, as in *Genesis* I, 'Let fowls multiply in the earth.'
Carry it: in a sense now obsolete—receive or endure it.

[23.] *He would have*: [Quod obtinere cupit.—*Latin Ed.*]
Stick: scruple, hesitate.

[24.] *Fetch*: a nautical term, meaning to move in a circuitous route. It is used both transitively and intransitively. Here it means, to use indirect methods or stratagems.

"I'll *fetch* a turn about the garden."—*Shakespeare*.

"Like a shifted wind unto a sail,
 It makes the course of thoughts to *fetch* about."—*Id.*

far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

[25] A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in

The popular author, Rev. Mr. Boyd of Edinburgh (in his 'Recreations of a Country Parson') says:—"Most human beings will tell you that day by day they witness a good deal of indirectness, insincerity, and want of straightforwardness—in fact, of petty trickery. There are many people who appear incapable of doing any thing without going round about the bush, as Caledonians say. There are many people who try to disguise the real motive for what they do. They will tell you any thing but the consideration that actually weighs with them, though that is in most cases perfectly well known to the person they are talking to. Some men will tell you that they travel second-class by railway because it is warmer, cooler, airier, pleasanter than the first class. They suppress all mention of the consideration that obviously weighs with them, viz., that it is cheaper. Mr. Squeers gave the boys at Dotheboy's Hall treacle and sulphur one morning in the week. The reason he assigned was, that it was good for their health; but his more outspoken wife stated the true reason, which was that by sickening the children, it made breakfast unnecessary on that day." Read Chapter III of the above named work, as furnishing an entertaining and graphic portraiture of Petty Malignity, and Petty Trickery.

Beat: to go in a zigzag line, like a vessel sailing against the wind. Froude, the celebrated English historian, bluntly says of Queen Elizabeth, "she could never travel with comfort on a straight road anywhere." *Of great patience*: requiring great patience. *Walking in Paul's*: in St. Paul's old Cathedral in London, which, in the sixteenth century, was a common lounge for idlers.—D.

[25.] *Lay, &c.*: Give an equivalent expression.

Straightways: an obsolete form of the word 'straightway;' immediately.

Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightway he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning [26] are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the [27] resorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the

[26.] *But, &c.*: In the edition of 1612 the text runs: "Very many are the differences between cunning and wisdom."

For that, &c.: The last word is redundant, and should be omitted.

[27.] Some of the words in this sentence it is difficult to define; but the definitions usually given are as follows:—

Resorts: from the French *ressort*: active movements, springs. *Falls*: chances or vicissitudes. *Pretty*: suitable, fit, tolerable; or considerable. *Looses*: faults, or weak points—But, according to Whately's edition, *Issues*: escapes from restraint, such as is difficulty or perplexity in deliberation—meaning about the same as our word 'solution,' from *solvo*, to *loose*.—'Solve the question.' *Conclusion*: the close, the result of deliberation.

Some of the above definitions have no support from the Latin form of the Essay, as will be seen from the following quotation; and certainly this ought to be regarded as a faithful commentary on the English form by the same author:—"Illud pro certo habendum, nonnullos negotiorum periodos et pausas nosse, qui in ipsorum viscera et interiora penetrare nequeunt: ut reperiuntur sedes nonnullæ, quæ gradus noctæ sunt commodos, et anticameras, sed absque cubiculo aliquo pulchriore. Itaque tales videbis in conclusionibus deliberationum commodos quosdam exitus reperire; ad rem vero examinandam et disceptandam, nullo modo sufficere. Attamen, sæpenumero ex hac re existimationem quandam aucupantur: veluti ingenia, quæ ad decernendum potius quam disputandum, sint aptiora."

The above quotation may be translated thus:—"It is cer-

main of it ; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room : therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters ; and yet

tain that some understand the circuits [the exterior and palpable circumstances], and the winding up of matters of business, but cannot penetrate into the viscera [the bowels], the interior, and most important parts of business ; as there are found some houses that have convenient stairs and entries, but are without suitable interior accommodations—without any lodging-room spacious and beautiful. Therefore you shall see that such in the conclusions of deliberations find out certain convenient issues (escapes from perplexing difficulties), but are by no means sufficient for the examination and discussion of the matter. Nevertheless, often, from this very thing, they cunningly gain a certain reputation, as possessing minds which are more capable of pronouncing a judgment, or final decision, than of conducting an argument."

Therefore you shall see, &c. : In other words, You shall see them able to indicate tolerable issues or solutions of certain difficulties deliberated upon ; but they are in no manner able to discuss or explain the processes by which a proper and safe result might be reached. And yet commonly they make this inability a pretext or excuse for not concerning themselves about the principal and the onerous details of business, claiming that their perspicacity best fits them for assuming the direction and general management of the whole.

Bacon, in another Essay—that on Dispatch—presents some thoughts, which have a slight relation to the passage now under review :—" Above all things, order and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch, so as [that] the distribution be not too subtille ; for *he that doth divide will never enter well into business*, and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. . . . There be three parts of business—the preparation, the debate, or examination, and the perfection,—whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few."

It is a remark of Whately, on a portion of the same Essay, that 'some men are admirable at a bright thought—a shrewd

commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build [28] rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon the soundness of their own proceedings: but Solomon saith, "*Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos.*"

guess—an ingenious scheme hit off on the spur of the moment, but either will not give themselves time for quiet deliberation in cases where there is no hurry, or cannot deliberate to good purpose. They can shoot flying, but cannot take deliberate aim.'

[28.] *Some build, &c* : Paraphrase. *The abusing*: the deceiving. 'Their eyes red and staring, cozened with a moist cloud, and *abused* by a double object.'—*Bp. Taylor*.

Prudens, &c.: 'The wise man looks to his steps; the fool turns aside to deceits.' Probably our author had in view *Eccles.* 14: 2, which in the common English version reads:—"The wise man's eyes are in his head; but the fool walketh in darkness."

As an example of Cunning, may be added Henry VIII. of England. His contemporaries called him a second Solomon. His abilities were manifest in his success; but on many occasions he over-refined and subtilized and created difficulties by cunning, which might have been avoided by pursuing a more honest and straightforward course. The reading of his life produces much the same effect on the mind as the perusal of the celebrated manual of Machiavelli, most of whose notions he anticipated, and put in practice. Indeed the princes who flourished in the latter half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth—Louis XI of France, Ferdinand of Spain, Henry of England, Pope Alexander VI, and his son Cæsar Borgia—scarcely among them left a state crime or manœuvre to be discovered by the great Florentine Secretary. They enacted in blood and treachery all that Machiavelli afterwards wrote in his book, and much that he omitted.—*Craik's Eng. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 318.

1. The Etymology of *Cunning*? Its earlier and later significations? Examples of Euphemisms becoming appropriated to a bad sense?

2. Whately's illustration of those who according to Bacon can pack cards, but cannot play well? To what does Bacon compare the cunning that pass for wise? Describe the haberdashers of the seventeenth century. What is it to wait upon one with your eyes? Practice of the Jesuits?

3. Anecdote of the counsellor who had business with Queen Elizabeth? The incident concerning Narcissus? Cunning displayed in a Postscript of a letter, and in a speech? Anecdote of two competitors for a secretaryship in Queen Elizabeth's time?

4. Explain the phrase 'turn cat-in-pen.'

5. Illustration of the cunning of those who justify themselves by negatives.

6. Paraphrase the last paragraph of the Essay.

7. Point out words now obsolete, or changed in signification since Bacon wrote.

8. What is said of the cunning of Henry VIII, and others?

ESSAY XI.

WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

AN ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a [1] shrewd thing in an orchard or garden; and certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; [2]

[1.] *Shrewd*: in the now obsolete sense of annoying, mischievous. This word was originally the participle of the transitive verb *shrew*, to curse, now obsolete.

"Every of this number

That have endured *shrewd* nights and days with us."—*Shakespeare*.

"That is a *shrewd* loss."—*W. Scott*.

Waste: lay waste.

"An hideous storm that threatens to *waste* all the world."—*Spenser*.

Waste the public: Change the form of expression, so as to make a balanced sentence. *An ant is a shrewd thing in a garden*: This was probably the established notion in Bacon's time, as it is with some, perhaps, now. People seeing plants in a sickly state covered with ants, attributed the mischief to them; the fact being that the ants do them neither harm nor good, but are occupied in sucking the secretion of the aphides which swarm on diseased plants, and are partly the cause, partly the effect of disease. If he had carefully watched the ants, he would have seen them sucking the aphides, and the aphides sucking the plant.—*Whately*.

[2.] *With reason*: the same as *in reason*; in a reasonable, just manner. The sentiment is, strike a just medium between the love of self and of society. *As*: that. *Divide, &c.*: The difference between self-love and selfishness has been well explained by Aristotle. It is clear that selfishness exists only in reference to others, and could have no place in one who lived alone on a desert island, though he might have, of course, every

and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others,
 [3] especially to thy king and country. It is a poor
 [4] centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right
 earth; for that only stands fast upon his own centre;
 whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens
 move upon the centre of another, which they benefit.
 [5] The referring of all to a man's self is more toler-

degree of self-love; for selfishness is not an excess of self-love, and consists not in an over-desire of happiness, but in placing your happiness in something which interferes with, or leaves you regardless of that of others. Nor are we to suppose that selfishness and want of feeling are either the same or inseparable. For, on the one hand, I have known such as have had very little feeling, but felt for others as much nearly as for themselves, and were, therefore, far from selfish; and on the other hand, some, of very acute feelings, feel for no one but themselves, and, indeed, are sometimes the most cruel.—W.

And be so true, &c.: [Atque ita tibi sis proximus, ut in alios non sis injurius, præsertim in regem tuum, aut patriam.—*Latin Edition.*]

[3.] *It is, &c.*: [Centrum plane ignobile est actionum hominis cujuspian, commodum proprium.—*Latin Edition.*] Change the form of this sentence. Explain the phrase, 'centre of a man's actions.' Bacon (in his "Julius Cæsar") writes:—"He was without dispute a man of a great and noble soul, though rather bent on procuring his own private advantage, than good to the public; for he referred all things to himself, and was the truest centre of his own actions."

[4.] [Recte terrestrem naturam sapit.—*Latin Edition.*]

Right earth: exactly, really, truly earth. That is, a man who makes himself the centre of his actions, is exactly like the earth, the centre of all heavenly bodies revolving around it, according to the Ptolemaic system, which Bacon seems to have preferred to the true or Copernican system. *His*: Observe the variance from modern use, which requires either *her* or *its*.

[5.] *Because themselves*: an incorrect expression. It should read, 'because himself is not only himself, but, &c.,' unless

able in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune; but it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state: therefore, let princes or states choose such servants as have not this mark, except they mean their service should be made but the accessory. That which maketh the effect more [6]

'sovereign prince' be changed to the plural form. This change is to be preferred. *Good and evil*: Does Bacon intend moral good and evil? If so, how can their good be *at the peril* of the public fortune, or expose it to injury?

The Emperor Tiberius, in the presence of the Roman senate, once made this address to the sons of Germanicus:—'As for you, Nero, and you, Drusus, in this assembly you behold your fathers. Born as you are in the highest station, your lot is such, that nothing good or evil can befall you, without affecting, at the same time, the interest of the commonwealth.—*Tacit. Annal.* 4: 8.

Crooketh: twists, perverts, or turns. 'Images be of more force to crook an unhappy soul than to teach and instruct him.'—*St. Augustine*. *Eccentric*: literally, out of the centre—deviating from the centre. Hence *eccentric to the ends*, &c., must mean *deviating from the ends*—not coincident with them.

This mark: What mark? *Mean*: Supply the word that should follow. *The accessory*: Is this word used here as an adjective or a substantive? 'Amongst many secondary and *accessory* causes that support monarchy, these are not of least reckoning.'—*Milton*. [Nisi velint res suas accessorii tantum loca esse.—*Latin Edition*.]

[6.] The sentence may be improved thus: "The effect is the more pernicious, because all proportion is thus lost." Here the sentence should close. *Proportion*: proper adjustment; suitableness. [Rerum analogia.—*Lat. Ed.*]

"It must be mutual in *proportion due*
Given and received."—*Milton*.

pernicious, is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme when a little good of the servant shall carry things against the great good of the master's: and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, gen-

'By the fitness and *proportionateness* of these objective impressions upon their respective faculties,' &c.—*Hale*.

It were disproportion, &c.: equivalent to, it were unsuitable enough. [*Satis enim iniquum esset.*—*Lat. Ed.*] *Shall carry things*: Give an equivalent form. *And yet*: Here

should begin a new sentence, leaving out *and*. *Which set, &c.*: What change does modern usage require? *Affairs*:

Here the sentence should end, and the next begin with '*For*,' &c., and ending with *fortune*. *Bias upon their bowl*: a

weight upon the side of their *bowl*, or wooden ball; so that when rolled upon the bowling-green, it would not move in a direct line. The game of bowls was very popular with the higher ranks in the days of Charles I, and Charles II.

'Being ignorant that there is a concealed *bias* within the spheroid, which will in all probability swerve away.'—*W. Scott*.

'A bowl equally poised, and thrown upon a plain bowling-green, will necessarily run in a direct line.'—*Bentley*.

"Madam, we'll play at bowls,—

'Twill make me think the world is full of rubs,
And that my fortune runs against the *bias*.'—*Shakspeare*.

Envies: desires resulting from envy. *Model*: measure; standard. *Sell*: barter or exchange. To sell a hurt, is a

strong but singular expression, denoting the injury that is inflicted in consequence of what is obtained. *And certainly*:

The sentence would begin better thus:—It is the nature, certainly, &c, *As*: that. *An*: if. *Men many, &c.*:

an unpleasant alliteration, Change the expression.

Respect: consideration.

"There's the *respect*

That makes calamity of so long life."—*Shak.*

Their affairs: supply the word that is needed to remove the ambiguity. [*Fortunam domini sui prodest.*—*Lat. Ed.*]

erals, and other false and corrupt servants ; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs ; and, for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune ; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune : and certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, an it were but to roast their eggs ; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves ; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches [7] thereof, a depraved thing : it is the wisdom of rats that will be sure to leave a house some time before it fall : it is the wisdom of the fox that thrust out the badger who digged and made room for him ; it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that [8]

[8.] *Those which* : Give present usage. *Sui, &c.* : 'Lovers of themselves without a rival.'—*Cicero ad. Q. F.* III, 8.

Sacrificed to themselves : rendered homage to themselves (as sacrifices are made for the sake of paying honor to Deity) ; studied their own honor and advancement. *Pinioned* : Give the synonyme. The Latin Edition reads *praescidisse*.

Fortune : worshipped as a Deity by Greeks and Romans. She was supposed to exercise an arbitrary power over human affairs, distributing prosperity and adversity. The Romans represented her with a cornucopia, and the helm of a ship, to denote that she distributes riches, and directs the affairs of the world. Sometimes she is represented as blindfolded, to show that she acts without discernment, and as standing on a wheel to denote her inconstancy. Sometimes she is represented with wings upon her feet. Horace in his Odes, Bk. I, 35, beautifully refers to this Goddess, where he recommends

those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are "*sui amantes sine rivali*," are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

Augustus to her protection when he meditated a visit to Britain.

"Fair Antium's goddess! whose sweet smile or frown
Can raise weak mortals from the depth of woe,
Or bring the lofty pride of triumph down
And bid the bitter tear of funeral grief to flow!"

Bacon, in this Essay, alludes to the Pagan idea of Fortune. It is a common practice to personify Fortune as a power which determines human success, though Divine Providence is the only governing power.

"Tis more by *fortunes* than by merit."—*Shak.*

"O *Fortune*, *Fortune*, all men call thee fickle."—*Shak.*

"*Fortune* a goddess is to fools alone."—*Dryden, Jr.*

In this Essay, there is considerable variety in sentences as to length. This is an important element in composition, and ought not to be neglected, especially in that which is intended to be printed. Prof. Henry Reed thus laments *the tendency in our day to the predominant use of short sentences*. He says:—"In our reading of English prose, it is well worth while to study what has become a lost art. I mean what may be called the architecture of a long and elaborate sentence, with its continuous and well-sustained flow of thought and feeling, and, however interwoven, orderly and clear. This is to be sought chiefly in the great prose writers of former centuries. 'Read that page,' said Coleridge, pointing to one of them, 'you cannot alter one conjunction without spoiling the sense. It is a linked strain throughout. In your modern books, for the most part, the sentences in a page have the same connection with each other that marbles have in a bag: they touch without adhering.' Junius, waging his fierce, factious war, fought with those short pointed sentences, piercing his foes with them; and it has been

said that nothing but Horne Tooke and a long sentence were an overmatch for him; and in our day, Macauley, waging his larger and more indiscriminate war, deals so exclusively with the same fashion of speech, that if you undertake to read his history aloud, your voice will crave a good old-fashioned, long sentence, as much as your heart may crave more of the repose and moderation of a deeper philosophy of history. This fashion of short sentences is mischievous, not only as a temptation to an indolent habit of reading (for it asks a much less sustained attention) but it is fatal to the fine rhythm which English prose is capable of."

1. Make an Analysis, and divide into Paragraphs. Divide § 5 into two and § 6 into three or four periods.

2. State Bacon's mistake about ants. Aristotle's distinction between self-love and selfishness? To what does Bacon compare a man who makes himself the centre of his actions?

3. Explain the phrase *bias upon the bowl*. Bacon's description of 'extreme self-lovers'? What word does Bacon often make as synonymous with? To what does Bacon compare the wisdom for a man's self? What error (judged by modern usage) does he fall into, in the use of *which*? What noteworthy thing does Bacon say of those who are 'lovers of themselves without a rival'?

4. Point out words or phrases that have, since Bacon's time, become obsolete, or changed their meaning.

5. The Pagan idea of Fortune?

6. Remarks upon the comparative length of sentences in older and in later writers?

7. Paraphrase the Essay.

ESSAY XII.

INNOVATIONS.

[1] As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation; for ill, to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, [2] strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an

[1.] *Ill-shapen*: as Bacon says in his *Antitheta*:—‘New births are deformed things.’ *Attained, &c.*: reached in degree; equalled. *Hath, &c.*: moves naturally, without

the application of extraneous force, and becomes stronger as it continues. [Processu invalescit.—*Lat. Ed.*] *Forced*:

violent. Bacon (in his *Antitheta*) says:—‘Let the ignorant square their actions by example.’ ‘As they who first derive honor to their family are commonly more worthy than those who succeed them, so innovations generally excel imitations.’

So the first, &c.: [Ita rerum exemplaria et primordia (quando feliciter jacta sunt) imitationem ætatis sequentis, ut plurimum, superant.—*Lat. Ed.*] *Strongest at first*: [is] strongest, &c.

[2.] *Medicine*: remedy. *New evils*: Bacon (*Antitheta*) says:—‘Qui nova remedia fugit, nova mala operitur.’ ‘He who will not apply new remedies must expect new diseases.’

Time, &c.: ‘Novator maximus tempus: quidni igitur tempus imitemur?’ i. e. ‘Time is the greatest innovator; and why may we not imitate Time?’ *Of course*: in the common manner of proceeding.

To the, &c.: *For* is required by modern taste. ‘Marks and points out each man of us to slaughter.—*Ben Jonson*.

innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that [3] what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves;

Bacon (*Antitheta*) observes:—‘Since things spontaneously change for the worse if they be not by design (or prudence) changed for the better, evils must accumulate without end.’ (Cum per se res mutantur in deterius, quis finis erit mali?)

Time is the greatest innovator: Though this is a convenient and allowable form of expression, it is not literally correct. As Bishop Copleston remarks, ‘in reality Time *does* nothing, and is nothing. We use it,’ he goes on to say, ‘as a compendious expression for all those causes which act slowly and imperceptibly. But unless some positive cause is in action, no change takes place in the lapse of one thousand years; as, for instance, in a drop of water in a cavity of silex. The most intelligent writers are not free from this illusion. Time *does* nothing.’ But, though no one can doubt, when the question is put before him, that effects are produced not *by* time, but *in* time, we are accustomed to represent Time as armed with a scythe, and mowing down all before him.—*W*.

[3.] *Though, &c.*: Though it be less good, nevertheless it is adapted to the times—etsi minus sit bonum, aptum esse tamen temporibus.—*Lat. Ed.*

Confederate within themselves: adapted to each other.

Inconformity: Synonyme?

Favored: Synonyme?

Bacon has these aphorisms in his *Antitheta*:—‘No author is accepted till Time has authorized him.’ ‘Every novelty does some hurt; for it unsettles what is established, or defaces the present state of things’ (nulla novitia absque injuria, nam presentia convellit). ‘Things authorized by custom, if not absolutely good, at least sort well together’ (quæ usu obtinuerunt, si non bona, at saltem apta inter se sunt).

whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: besides, they are like strangers, more admired [4] and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still; which, contrariwise, moveth so round, that a fro-

New things are like strangers, &c.: Bacon has omitted to notice, that there are in most languages proverbial sayings respecting this point apparently opposed to each other; as, for instance, that men are attached to what they have been used to; that use is a second nature; that they fondly cling to the institutions and practices they have been accustomed to, and can hardly be prevailed on to change them for better; and then again on the other side, that men have a natural craving for novelty; that unvarying sameness is tiresome; that some variety—some change, even for the worse, is agreeably refreshing, &c. The truth is, that in all the *serious* and important affairs of life men are attached to what they have been used to; in matters of *ornament* they covet novelty. In all systems and institutions—in all the ordinary business of life—in all fundamentals—they cling to what is the established course; in matters of detail—in what lies, as it were, on the surface—they seek variety. Men may, in reference to this point, be compared to a tree, whose stem and main branches stand year after year, but whose leaves and flowers are fresh every season. —*Whately*.

[4.] *Is true*: would be true. *A froward retention of custom, &c.*: Some, like the ancient Medes and Persians, and like Lycurgus, have attempted to prohibit all change, but those who constantly appeal to the wisdom of their ancestors as a sufficient reason for perpetuating every thing those have established, forget two things: first, that they cannot hope forever to persuade all successive generations of men that there was once one generation of such infallible wisdom as to be entitled to control all their descendants forever; which is to make the earth, in fact, the possession not of the living, but of the dead; and, secondly, that even supposing our ancestors gifted with such infallibility, many cases must arise in which it may be reasonably doubted whether they themselves would not have advocated, if living, changes called for by altered circumstances.

ward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good there- [5] fore that men, in their innovations, would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived: for

It is true whatever is established has a presumption on its side; that is, the burden of proof lies on those who propose a change. But the deference which is thus claimed for old laws and institutions is sometimes extended (through the ambiguity of language—the use of ‘old’ for ‘ancient’) to what are called ‘the good old times;’ as if the world had formerly been older, instead of younger, than it is now. But it is manifest that the advantage possessed by old *men*—that of long experience—must belong to the present age more than to any preceding.—*Whately*.

Round: Synonyme? The adverbial form should be used. ‘Sir Roger heard them on a *round* trot.’—*Addison*.

Froward, &c.: ‘*Morosa morum retentio, res turbulenta est æque ac novitas.*’—[*Antiith.*]: i. e. ‘A stubborn adherence to old practices produces tumults no less than novelty.’

They that, &c.: ‘The slaves of custom, are the sport of time.’—[*Antiith.*]

[5.] *Example of Time*, &c.: *Whately* exemplifies this in the case of a language becoming dead, as in the Greek and Latin. He refers also to the Latin Vulgate translation of the Scriptures, which had been prepared for the use of the people who spoke that language; but gradually that language was superseded by the Italian, French and Spanish, while the Scriptures were still kept in Latin, and when it was proposed to translate them into modern tongues, this was regarded as a perilous innovation, though it is plain that the real innovation was that which had taken place imperceptibly, since the very object proposed by the Vulgate version was, that the Scriptures might not be left in an unknown tongue. *Whately* also remarks, that to reject the religious practices and doctrines that have crept in little by little since the days of the Apostles, and thus to restore Christianity to what it was under *them*, appears to the unthinking to be forsaking the old religion and bringing in a

otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for ; and ever it mends some, and pairs others ; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time ; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author.

[6] It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident ; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation ; and lastly, that the

new. He observes, moreover, that the longer any needful reform is delayed, the greater and the more difficult, more dangerous, and unsettling it will be. Most wise, therefore, is Bacon's admonition, to copy the great innovator Time, by vigilantly watching for, and promptly counteracting, the first small insidious approaches of decay, and introducing gradually, from time to time, such small improvements (individually small, but collectively great) as there may be room for, and which will prevent the necessity of violent and sweeping reformations.

Would follow, &c. : What disagreement here with modern usage ? The *Antitheta* says, 'Quis novator tempus imitatur, quod novationes ita insinuat, ut sensus fallant ?' i. e., 'What innovator follows the example of time, which brings about new things so quietly as to be almost imperceptible ?' *Unlooked for* : not foreseen ; and so cannot be provided for. *Mends* : Synonyme ? *Pairs* : impairs, injures.

"No faith so fast," quoth he, "but flesh does *pair*."

"Flesh may *impair*," quoth she, "but reason can *repair*."—*Spenser*.

Otherwise : Expand the import of this word. *Holpen* : obsolete form of *helped*. *Fortune* : act of fortune.

He that is hurt, &c. : Bacon (*Antitheta*) says :—'Quod præter spem evenit, cui prodest, minus acceptum ; cui obest magis molestum.' i. e., 'What happens unexpectedly is, for that reason, less agreeable to him whom it profits, and more afflicting to him whom it hurts.'

[6.] *Beware* : a compound of *be* and the old English word *ware* for *wary*. Give synonyme. *That it be, &c.* : that the desire of the reformation induce the change, and not that

novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, "That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it."

the desire of change make reformation a pretext. *The reformation*: correction of manners and improvement of condition. *Pretendeth, &c.*: puts forward reformation as a cover or pretext.

"Warn all creatures from thee
Henceforth; lest that too heavenly form, *pretended*
To hellish falsehood, snare them."—*Milton*.

[Et sedulo cavere, ut reformationis studium mutationem inducat, non autem studium mutationis reformationem prætextat.—*Lat. Ed.*]

• *For a suspect*: as something to be suspected or distrusted. An obsolete word.

"What I can do or offer is *suspect*."—*Milton*.

The Scripture, &c.: Compare Jer. 6:16.

Make a stand upon the ancient way, &c.: Bacon's maxim is most wise, to look about us to discover what is the *best* way, neither changing at once any thing that is established, merely because of some evils actually existing, without considering whether we can substitute some thing that is on the whole better; nor, again, steadily rejecting every plan or system that can be proposed, till one can be found that is open to no objections at all. To condemn and reject every thing that is imperfect, is a folly which has often led to each of two opposite absurdities: either an obstinate adherence to what is established, however bad, because nothing absolutely unexceptional can be substituted; or, again, a perpetual succession of revolutions till we can establish—which is totally impossible—some system completely faultless. But though few men are likely to be called upon to take part in the reformation of any public institutions, yet every one should engage in the work of *self-reformation*. We can easily remedy the beginnings of small evils before they have accumulated into a great one. Begin reforming, therefore, *at once*; *proceed* in reforming steadily and cautiously, and *go on reforming* forever.—*W.*

1. Re-write the Essay, giving all the thoughts, but in language adapted to our own times, distributing the matter into paragraphs.
2. Is it strictly correct to speak of Time as an innovator? How is the phrase to be understood?
3. What proverbial sayings are apparently opposed to each other in respect to Innovations?
4. What is said of those who appeal to the practice of ancestors as a sufficient reason for perpetuating old things?
5. Whately's illustration of the changes made by Time? His advice as to the best method of reforms? What about self-reform?
6. Point out words or phrases now obsolete, or changed in meaning.

ESSAY XIII.

SEEMING WISE.

It hath been an opinion, that the French are [1] wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are; but howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man; for, as the

[1.] *And the:* What is to be supplied? *Howsoever:* Substitute the modern form. *It be:* What to be supplied?

Saith: 2 Tim. 3: 5. *Points:* Is the plural form necessary here? *Sufficiency:* Synonyme? *Solemnly:* Give the proper synonyme. *Magno, &c.:* (l. e. '[perform] trifles with great effort.' [Ita certe inveniuntur nonnulli, qui nugantur solenniter, cum prudentes minime sint: Magno, &c.—*Lat. Ed.*])

We are here reminded of Bacon's sovereign, *James I*, whose character and manners are admirably drawn by Sir Walter Scott, in the '*Fortunes of Nigel*,' especially in Chapter V.—'He was deeply learned, without possessing useful knowledge; sagacious in many individual cases, without having real wisdom; fond of his power, and desirous to maintain and augment it, yet willing to resign the direction of that, and of himself, to the most unworthy favorites; a big and bold asserter of his rights in words, yet one who tamely saw them trampled on in deeds; a lover of negotiations, in which he was always outwitted; and a fearer of war, where conquest might have been easy. He was fond of his dignity, while he was perpetually degrading it by undue familiarity; capable of much public labor, yet often neglecting it for the meanest amusement; a wit, though a pedant; and a scholar though fond of the conversation of the ignorant and uneducated. Even his timidity of temper was not uniform; and there were moments of his life, and those critical, in which he showed the spirit of his ancestors. He was laborious in trifles, and a trifler where serious labor was required; devout in his sentiments, and yet profane in his language; just

apostle saith of godliness, "Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof;" so certainly there are, in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or [2] little very solemnly: "*magno conatu nugas.*" It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make superficies to seem body that [3] hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak.

and beneficent by nature, he yet gave way to the iniquities and oppression of others. He was penurious respecting money which he had to give from his own hand, yet inconsiderately and unboundedly profuse of that which he did not see. In a word, those good qualities which displayed themselves in particular cases and occasions, were not of a nature sufficiently firm and comprehensive to regulate his general conduct; and, showing themselves as they occasionally did, only entitled James to the character bestowed on him by Sully—that he was *the wisest fool in Christendom.*

[2.] *Fit for a satire:* Paraphrase the clause. *Shifts:* contrivances. *Formalists:* a word here descriptive of persons who seem what they are not. Compare with the phrase in the last sentence of the Essay. *Prospectives:* a word now obsolete, meaning *perspective glasses.*

"Of quaint mirrours, and of *prospectives.*"—*Chaucer.*

[3.] *As:* What does modern usage require in its place? *Dark light:* Too much like a contradiction. Name the proper word to take the place of *dark.* *They speak:* What word should precede this? *That:* Supply ellipsis, or give a proper substitute. *May:* What would be more proper? *Well:* safely. [Tuto loqui.—*Lat. Ed.*]

Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin: "*respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.*" Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, [5] and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, [6] whatsoever is beyond their reach will seem to despise, or make light of it, as impertinent or curious; and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some [7]

[4.] *With: By*, is a better word here. *Saith*: in *Piso* 6.

Respondes, &c.: You answer, with one eyebrow lifted to the forehead, and with the other depressed to the chin, that cruelty is not agreeable to you.' *Piso*: There were many distinguished Romans bearing this name. The one here referred to was L. Calpurnius Piso, father-in-law of Cæsar, and consul B. C. 58. He was the subject of one of Cicero's severest speeches, in which the life and conduct of this man are painted in the darkest colors.

[5.] *To bear it*: to manage it; to bear sway; to carry their point.

"We'll direct her how 'tis best to bear it."—*Shak.*

Peremptory: Synonyme? *Admittance*: now obsolete in the sense here used, that of *concession*, or *assent*; as, the *admittance* of an argument.—*Browne.* *Make good*: Equivalent? [Probare non possunt.—*Lat. Ed.*]

[6.] *Impertinent*: irrelevant.

"Without the which, this story
Were most *impertinent*."—*Shak.*

Curious: over-nice, subtile, precise.

"With a more *curious* discrimination."—*Holden.*

[7.] *Difference*: distinction; disagreement in opinion.

Blanch: evade. 'A man horribly cheats his own soul, who

are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius saith, "*hominem delirum, qui verborum* [8] *minutius rerum frangit pondera.*" Of which kind also, Plato in his Protagoras, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth [9] of distinctions from beginning to the end. Generally such men in all deliberations, find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of [10] business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. [11] Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion;

upon any pretence whatever, forsakes or *blanches* the true principles of religion.—*Goodman.* *Hominem, &c.*: 'A senseless man who fritters away weighty matters by trifling with words.'

[9.] *Plato: Protag.* 1: 337. *Find ease, &c.*: Find it easier to make difficulties and objections than to originate.—*D.*

Affect, &c.: Seek to gain credit or reputation from proposing scruples or predicting difficulties. *Denied*: rejected.

[Etenim cum id quod proponitur, penitus rejicitur, nil ultra restat agendum; sin probatur, nova indiget opera.—*Lat. Ed.*]

Point: kind. [Quod prudentiæ genus spurium negotia prorsus perdit.—*Lat. Ed.*]

As these, &c.: As these persons destitute of true wisdom, employ for maintaining a reputation for wisdom. [Ad prudentiæ suæ opinionem tuendam.—*Lat. Ed.*]

[10.] *Decaying*: Is there any figure in this word?

Inward beggar: a bankrupt, but not so outwardly, or to appearance; one really but secretly a bankrupt. *Their*: Make the necessary correction.

but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over formal.

[11.] *Make shift*: manage artfully; contrive for the moment.

Opinion: in the now obsolete sense of *reputation*. In this place a reputation for wisdom is intended.

Employment: Synonyme? *You were better take*: Modernize the phrase.

Seeming wise men, &c.: True wisdom consists in the *ready* and *accurate* perception of analogies. Without the former quality, knowledge of the past is un instructive; without the latter, it is deceptive. One way in which a man aims at and pretends to wisdom, 'who has it not in him,' is 'to avoid extremes,' to 'keep the middle course,' and to keep at an *equal distance* from opposite parties. And thus, as almost always each party is right in *something*, he misses the *truth* on both sides, and while afraid of being guided by either party, he is in fact guided by both. Another pretender to wisdom prides himself on what he calls his *consistency*,—on his never changing his opinions or plans; which, as long as man is fallible, and circumstances change, is the wisdom of one either too dull to detect his mistakes, or too obstinate to own them. By *absurd* (in this sentence) Bacon probably means 'inconsiderate.' The *over-formal* often impede, and sometimes frustrate, business by a dilatory, tedious, circuitous, and (what in colloquial language is called) fussy way of conducting the simplest transactions. They have been compared to a dog, which cannot lie down till he has made three circuits round the spot.—*W.*

1. Make an Analysis. Divide into Paragraphs. Re-write the Essay, giving all the thoughts chiefly in other language—studying greater perspicuity and smoothness.

2. Who is the *Piso* referred to in this Essay?

3. In what consists true wisdom? The folly of keeping at an equal distance from opposite parties? The pride of consistency? How do the over-formal frustrate business? Point out words or phrases, now obsolete, or changed in meaning.

ESSAY XIV.

FRIENDSHIP.

[1] It had been hard for him that spake it, to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than

[1.] *Whosoever, &c.*: Aristotle had been so unduly and absurdly worshipped before Bacon's time, that it was not inexcusable to be carried away by the ebb-tide, and unduly to disparage him. But, in truth, Aristotle (of whom Bacon is speaking) was quite right in saying that to Man, such as man is, friendship is indispensable to happiness; and that one who has no need, and feels no need of it, must be either much *above* human nature, or much below it. Aristotle does not presume to say that no Being can exist so exalted as to be wholly independent of all other beings, as to require no sympathy, nor admit of it; but that such a Being must be a widely different Being from Man.—*W.*

It is most untrue, &c.: Well might Bacon deny that incapacity for friendship could assimilate Man to the divine nature. We do not find that true Christians—those whom Peter describes as 'partakers of a divine nature'—become less capable of friendship in proportion as they attain to that resemblance to their divine Master, which is yet to be their perfection when they shall see him as he is, and after which they are now striving. Nor have we any reason to believe that in the future state of blessedness and glory, any part of the saints' perfection will consist in being no longer capable of special individual friendship. For, as we find that private friendship does not interfere with universal benevolence on earth, why should it do so in heaven? Besides, no one can suppose that a Christian in his glorified state will be more exalted than his great Master while here on earth. Yet he was not incapable of friendship. He certainly loved all mankind more than any other man ever did. He loved all the Apostles—and yet he distinguished one as more peculiarly and privately his *friend*.—*W.*

in that speech, "Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god;" for it is most true that a natural and secret hatred and aversion towards society, in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character

It had been, &c. : Express the idea by another form of expression.

To have put : Give the more correct and modern form.

Whosoever, &c. : The quotation seems to be taken from Book I. of Aristotle's *Politica* :—"He who is unable to mingle in society, or who requires nothing, by reason of sufficing for himself, is no part of the state, so that he is either a wild beast or a Divinity."

Aversion towards : *aversion to*, a turning away from with disgust. 'Some men have a natural *aversion* to some vices, or virtues, and a natural affection for others.'—*Bp. Taylor*.

Except : *unless*, as in John 8 : 8.

For a higher conversation : for conversation or intercourse with a higher being. Or, 'conversation' may here be used in the obsolete sense of *behaviour, course of life*. as in 2 Pet. 3 : 'In all holy *conversation* and godliness.'

Feignedly : What is to be supplied after this word ?

A desire to sequester, &c. : Bacon here seems to agree in that commendation of a monastic life which is sometimes heard even now from Protestants. The monks are represented by Roman Catholic writers as all pious men, who, bent upon the cultivation of a religious temper of mind, withdrew from the world for that purpose; as if the business and duties of this world were not the very discipline which God has appointed for cultivating real righteousness in us. And then, the learning, peace, and piety of the monasteries is strongly contrasted with the ignorance and irreligion and perpetual wars, of the dark and troublous times of 'the middle ages,' in such a manner that even Protestants are sometimes led to say that at least for those times the monasteries were commendable institutions. But they forget that it was the very system of which these were a part, which *made* the world so dark and unquiet; and then, like the ivy which has reduced a fine building to a shattered ruin, they held together the fragments of that ruin. Of course, if you teach men that holiness can be only, or can best be attained by withdrawing from the world into a cloister, all those who

at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation : such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathens ; as Epimenides, the Candian ; Numa, the Roman ; Empedocles, the Sicilian ; and

are bent on living a holy life *will* withdraw from the world ; and they will, in so withdrawing, take from the world that which should reform it—the benefit of their teaching, and the encouragement of their example.—*W.*

Epimenides : a native of Crete, contemporary with Solon, born 696 B. C. Many wonderful and incredible stories of him are related. He was, however, a man of learning and genius, and pretended to have intercourse with the gods, and in support of this pretension (to which Bacon seems to allude) he lived in solitude, and practiced various arts of imposture, subsisting on the spontaneous products of the earth. He was the author of a theogony and other religious poems. His work on oracles and responses, that Jerome speaks of, is said to have been the one from which St. Paul quotes in the Epistle to Titus.

Numa : Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, distinguished for wisdom, integrity, and piety, in the Pagan sense. Upon the loss of his wife, he gave himself up to private studies, and leaving the city of Cures, secluded himself in the country among woods and fountains deemed sacred. His recluse mode of life originated the fable that he resorted to the nymph Egeria for aid in subsequently making laws for his subjects.

Empedocles : a philosopher, poet, physician, orator, statesman, and reputed performer of various miraculous works. He flourished about 450 B. C., being a native of Sicily. The story is, that he secretly threw himself into the burning crater of Etna, in order that, the manner of his death being unknown, he might establish the claim he made of being immortal, and afterward pass for a god, but the real fact was discovered not long afterwards upon the appearance of one of his sandals, which a subsequent eruption had brought out to view.

Apollonius : a native of Tyana in Cappadocia, and a great pretender to miraculous power, at the commencement of the

Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and [2] how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love. The Latin [3] adage meeteth with it a little: "*magna civitas, magna solitudo*;" because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods; but we may go farther, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and

Christian era. Pagan and infidel writers (Strauss among others) have been fond of tracing a parallel between him and Christ, and even claiming for him a superiority to the latter, but the claim has been satisfactorily overthrown by able Christian writers. In philosophy he was a Pythagorean, and made Pythagoras his model. He was one of those impostors who claimed to be divinely gifted, in order to secure the greater respect to his various writings. Some were ready to pay him even divine honors in view of his supposed miraculous performances.

Gibbon says of him, that his life is written in so fabulous a manner by his disciples, that we are at a loss to discover whether he was a sage, an impostor, or a fanatic. Philostratus was his biographer.

[2.] *What solitude is:* in what it consists. According to Bacon we may enjoy solitude even in a crowd. *A crowd is not* [to be called] *company*.

[3.] *Meeteth with it:* harmonizes with it; serves to express it. *Magna, &c.:* 'A great city, a great solitude.'

Which is, &c.: Express this clause in better language.

Mere: absolute, naked.

Taketh it, &c.: Improve the language of this clause. What word may advantageously be omitted? What other word changed? and why?

Humanity: human nature. 'Look to thyself; reach not beyond *humanity*.'—*Philip Sidney*.

miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness: and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

[4] A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness of the heart, which passions of [5] all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body, and it is not much otherwise in the mind: you may take *sarza* to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

[6] It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of

[5.] Divide this sentence into two. *Sarza*: sarsaparilla, a Mexican plant. *Castoreum*: castor, a substance of pungent odor derived from the two inguinal sacs of the beaver.

Civil shrift: in contra distinction from a religious confession to a priest, of thought and feeling and act.

"Address you to your shrift,
And be yourself; for you must die."—*Romeo*

[*Tanquam sub sigillo confessionis civilis.*—*Lat. Ed.*]

[6.] *Rate*: Synonyme? *Do set*: modern form? *As*: that. *In regard of*: modern form? *As it were*:

What is the force, and grammatical analysis of this expression?

[*Tanquam.*—*Lat. Ed.*] *Sorteth to*: results or issues in. 'Things sort not to my will.'—*Herbert*.

Favorites: As a picture of the times of Bacon, read the following account of some of the habits of courtiers of that day. After describing their extravagances and splendor in dress,

friendship whereof we speak; so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness; for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The [7]

their prodigality in feasting and riotous living; and habits of gambling and other immoralities, the historian proceeds to say.—‘To be a successful courtier it was also necessary to excel in those coarse jokes and buffooneries which were so much to the taste of the low-minded James. This king, among his various accomplishments, was a ready inventor of nick names and an inveterate lover of practical jokes; and happy was the man who could so take these as to furnish the luxury of a royal chuckle. Occasionally, however, the kingly jester would venture beyond bounds with those of more independent spirit, in which case he was sometimes rewarded with a counter-buff not much to his liking. In contemplating the manners of James, and those by whom he was surrounded, it was no wonder that the English nobles of the old school thought of the court of Elizabeth with a sigh. When Charles I. succeeded, the coldness of his character and his decorous habits discountenanced these coarse and profligate excesses; and the courtiers endeavored to conform to something like the rules of external decency. A general sobriety of demeanor succeeded and even debauchees now talked of Platonic love, the pretence of which at least became for a time quite the fashion at court. But, as the stern, ascetic Puritans grew into power, and advanced to the destruction of the monarchy with prayer and fasting, the court party soon became eager to distinguish themselves by an entirely opposite behaviour. All the excesses of the former reign were resumed, and Charles found himself unable to restrain, or even to rebuke his adherents, who swore, drank, bawled, and intrigued, to show their hatred of the enemy, and their devotedness to the royal cause.’—*Craik's Hist. Eng.*, Vol. III, pp. 631, 632.

modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace, or conversation; but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them "*participes curarum*;" for it is that which tieth the knot: and we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

[8] L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned

[7.] *Privado*: now obsolete, for confidential friend.

Grace: favor.

Conversation: familiar intercourse.

Attaineth: [Rectius exprimit.—*Lat. Ed.*]

Participes

curarum: participators in our cares.

Tieth the knot:

Paraphrase. [Quod verum ligamen præstat.—*Lat. Ed.*]

[8.] L. Sylla: born 138 B. C., a man devoid of moral principle, but of wonderful energy and tact. He was associated with Pompey in the consulship at Rome. He had a terrible quarrel with the Marian faction, which led to his appointment as Dictator, which he resigned after holding it for three years, and retired to private life. He directed to be placed upon his tomb this highly characteristic inscription:—"Here lies Sylla, who was never outdone in good offices by his friend, nor in acts of hostility by his enemy." In the severe contest between him and Marius, he was the personification of the aristocrat, as Marius was of the domestic spirit. *That—that*: Alter the clause so as to avoid this blemish. *Vaunted himself for*: How can this be improved? Notice again the blemish for—

upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet ; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting. With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had [9] obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew ; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death ; for when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamed a better dream ; and it seemed his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter, which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, called him "*venefica*,"—"witch," as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised [10] Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his

for. *Against the pursuit of Sylla* : Improve, and make plainer, the form of expression. *That Sylla* : Should that be retained? *Did a little resent* : Give a better form of expression. *Great* : Synonyme? *For, &c.* : *Plut. Vit. Pomp.* 19. *Adored* : Apply the figure to the circumstances of the case.

[9.] *Decimus Brutus* : usually called Marcus Junius Brutus.

That : Give an equivalent. *As* : Give the modern word.

He—him : Change the form of the sentence so as to remove the ambiguity.

In remainder : A *remainder*, in law, is a future estate in land, &c., limited to arise after the determination of another estate ; as if land be granted to A for twenty years, and afterwards to B and his heirs forever, B has a *remainder* in fee. *In regard of* : Equivalent form ?

His favor : the favor in which he was held. *As* : that.

Philippics : 13 : 11.

[10.] *As* : that. This change would require the previous *that* to be changed to *such*.

daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life; there was no third way, he had made [11] him so great. With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed [12] and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, "*hæc pro amicitia nostra non occultavi*;" and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dear- [13] ness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son: and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words—"I love the man so [14] well, as I wish he may over-live me." Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aure-

[11.] *With Tiberius, &c.*: Paraphrase. *That—as*: Change to modern forms. Sejanus, though prime minister of Tiberius, was an infamous man.

[12.] *Hæc, &c.*: 'On account of our friendship I have not concealed these things.'—*Tacit. Annal*, 4: 10. *In respect of*: Equivalent terms? *Dearness*: fondness. 'He must profess all the *deariness* and friendship.'—*South*.

[13.] *Severus*: the Roman Emperor, by whose favor Plautianus, of obscure origin, was rapidly advanced to power and became at length prætorian prefect. Statues were erected at Rome and elsewhere to his honor. His power and influence nearly equalled that of the Emperor himself. The marriage of his daughter Plautilla with Caracalla admitted him to the imperial household, where, however, his pride and the influence which he possessed over the emperor led to his downfall and assassination. *I love, &c.*: *Dion Cass.* 75. *As*: that.

Over-live: survive. 'Musidorus, who showed a mind not to *over-live* Prorus, prevailed.'—*Sir P. Sidney*.

lius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature ; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly, that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire ; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews ; yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus ob- [15]
serveth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy,
that he would communicate his secrets with none ; and

[14.] *Of an* : from an. 'I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you.'—1 Cor. 11 : 28.

Though as great, &c. : a very rash assertion to be made of such men as Tiberius and Sejanus, the vilest of the vile. Bacon must have referred to the means of worldly enjoyment at their command. *Except* : Give the word now in good use. *Which* : *What* is the better word.

[15.] *Communicate with* : What preposition is now required ? 'He communicated those thoughts only *with* the Lord Digby.'—*Clarendon*. *Duke Charles the Hardy* : Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, a powerful vassal of Louis the XI of France. Sir Walter Scott styles him the Audacious, for 'his courage was allied to rashness and frenzy. He rushed on danger because he loved it, and on difficulties because he despised them. The very soul of bravery, which he pushed to the verge of rashness, and beyond it—profuse in expenditure—splendid in his court, his person, and his retinue, in all which he displayed the hereditary magnificence of the house of Burgundy, Charles the Bold drew into his service all the fiery spirits of the age whose temper was congenial.'—'Quentin Durward,' Chap. I. See also Chap. XXVI, wherein is graphically described an interview between Charles the Bold and Louis XI, bringing out finely the character of each.

least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. [16] Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little [17] perish his understanding. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Louis the Eleventh,

Comineus : Philip De Comines, the historian who attended the last Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, and afterwards Louis XI, King of France. He wrote an amusing Memoir of his Times, embracing notices of these men.

[16.] *Perish* : vitiate.

[17.] *Louis XI* : In 1481 he had an attack of apoplexy, from which he rallied, but the next year another fit reduced his powers still further, and from this period his existence became precarious, and his condition, both physical and moral, pitiable in the extreme. Recoiling in guilty terror from the fear of death, he exhausted every artifice and caprice to conceal, both from himself and others, the inevitable advance of the great enemy. At the same time conscious that his cruelties had made him the object of universal detestation, he was haunted by suspicions of treachery and violence; and, to escape this peril, he immured himself in his gloomy, fortress-like palace of Plessis-les-Tours, where he was no less truly a prisoner, and scarcely less miserable, than the meanest victim of his tyranny. No one passed into the interior without an express order from the king; and the sentinels were ordered to fire indiscriminately upon any one who should venture within range of their weapons after night-fall.—*Students' France*, 270, 271.

Louis XI : Sir Walter Scott, in his 'Quentin Durward' (Chap. I.), has drawn an admirable portrait of this man, a part of which is the following :—'Calm, crafty, and profoundly attentive to his own interest, he made every sacrifice, both of pride and passion, which could interfere with it. He was careful in disguising his real sentiments and purposes from all who approached him, and frequently used the expressions 'that the king knew not how to reign, who knew not how to dissemble; and that, for himself, if he thought his very cap knew his secrets, he would throw it into the fire.' No man of his own.

whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The [18] parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true, "*Cor ne edito*,"—"eat not the heart." Certainly, if a man [19] would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto, are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves; for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his grief to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation [20]

or of any other time, better understood how to avail himself of the frailties of others, and when to avoid giving any advantage by the untimely indulgence of his own. He was by nature vindictive and cruel, even to the extent of finding pleasure in the frequent executions which he commanded. But as no touch of mercy ever induced him to spare, when he could with safety condemn, so no sentiment of vengeance ever stimulated him to a premature violence. He seldom sprung on his prey till it was fairly within his grasp, and till all chance of rescue was in vain; and his movements were so studiously disguised, that his success was generally what first announced to the world what object he had been maneuvering to attain."

[18.] *Cor*, &c. : Plutarch, *De Educat. Puer.* 17. Pythagoras went further, requiring his disciples to confine themselves to a vegetable diet. See Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Bk. XV.

[20.] *The alchymists*: These were a set of ingenious but deluded experimenters who fancied that by certain long processes the baser metals might be converted into gold: that this was to be effected by the use of a certain mineral to be produced by these processes, which, being mixed with the baser metal would be able to change it, and this was denominated the *philosopher's stone*. Persons, professing to have invented this stone, practiced on the credulity of the multitude. Another

upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchemists use to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature; but yet, without praying in aid of alchemists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for, in bodies union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so it is of minds.

[21] The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and con-[22] fusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be under-

great object with them was to produce a substance that would prolong or perpetuate life—a universal remedy. Alchemy, practiced from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, for the most part an imposture, as it was, yet led to the great art of modern chemistry.

Stone for man's body: This is an application of the philosopher's stone to which the Editor can find no reference in any author.

Praying in aid: a forensic phrase, equivalent to, asking the court to call in one to help who has some interest in the matter contested.

"You shall find

A conqueror that will *pray in aid* for kindness,
When he for grace is kneeled to."—*Shak.*

Of minds: with regard to minds.

"This quarrel is not now *of* fame and tribute,
But for your own republic."—*Ben Jonson.*

[22.] *Wits:* mental faculties. *Fraught with:* oppressed with. [Gravatum.—*Lat. Ed.*] *Whosoever:* What word is now used for this? *Clarify and break up:* become clear the clouds breaking up and departing. Compare § 21.

He seeth, &c.: [Illas tanquam in faciem intuetur, postquam conversæ fuerint in verba.—*Lat. Ed.*] *Wiser than himself:* Paraphrase.

stood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well [23]

[23.] *Arras*: Tapestry—ornamental figured hangings woven of worsted or silk for lining the walls of rooms. The name is derived from a place where it has been extensively manufactured, Arras, the capital of Artois in the Netherlands. The Greeks, Egyptians and Hebrews made and used the article for covering walls, and also for covering couches and tables. In the reign of Henry VIII, the art of weaving tapestry was introduced into England.

Cloth of Arras: This phrase could not have been used by Themistocles, who lived and died long before the town of Arras was built. By the unwarranted use of this phrase, instead of the word *tapestry*, Bacon subjects himself to the charge of committing a gross anachronism. The whole transaction, as related by Rollin (III, 81, 82), is so interesting as to deserve to be copied here:—Themistocles (for whose apprehension a reward of two hundred talents having been offered by Artaxerxes) gave himself up, and being called into the presence of the king, and expecting nothing but death, he was favorably disappointed, for the king began the interview by making Themistocles a present of two hundred talents, which he said was due to him, as Themistocles had brought him his head, by surrendering himself to him. The king then desired him to give an account of the affairs of Greece. But as Themistocles could not express his thoughts to the king without the assistance of an interpreter, he desired that time might be allowed him to learn the Persian tongue; hoping he then should be able to explain those things which he was desirous of communicating to him, better than he could by the aid of a third person. *It is the same*, says he, *with the speech of a*

said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, "That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in [24] thoughts they lie but in packs." Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel (they indeed are best); but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits against a stone, [25] which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass into smother.

[26] Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation; which is faithful

man, as with a piece of tapestry, which must be spread out and unfolded, to show the figures and beauty of the work, [but when it is folded up, they are hidden and lost; therefore he begged time.—Plutarch.] His request being granted, Themistocles, in the space of twelve months, made so great a progress in the Persian language, that he spoke it with greater elegance than the Persians themselves. Subsequently, by the king's special order, he was admitted to the high favor of hearing the lectures and discourses of the Magi, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy.

[24.] *Restrained*: limited, restricted.

[25.] *Were better, &c.*: Construct the sentence anew, so as to make it more perspicuous. *In smother*: into a state of suppression. [Quam cogitationes suas silentio suffocare.—*Lat. Ed.*]

"I were best not call."—*Shak.*

"Then must I from the smoke into the smother,
From tyrant duke unto a tyrant brother."—*Shak.*

[26.] *Vulgar*: Synonymes?

counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in [27] one of his enigmas, "Dry light is ever the best;" and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference [28] between the counsel that a friend giveth and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning man- [29] ners, the other concerning business: for the first, the

[27.] *Heraclitus*: an Ephesian philosopher, sometimes called 'the weeping philosopher,' because he spent much of his time in tears, bewailing the wickedness of the men around him; thus forming a contrast to Democritus, who laughed at the follies and vices of mankind. In disgust with his race, Heraclitus refused an invitation to live at the Persian court, and retired to the mountains and there remained a recluse till his death. His style was so obscure that he was surnamed 'the unintelligible;' but some say that he affected to write obscurely, lest his productions should be read by the vulgar, and become contemptible. The fundamental doctrine of his philosophy was that fire is the principle of all things.

Dry light: Whatever meaning Heraclitus intended to convey by this expression, the use of it by Bacon is clear from what follows. 'It is a *dry* fable, with little or nothing in it.'—*L'Estrange*. '*Dry* subtilties.'—*Burnet*. 'Virtue is but *dryly* praised, and starves.'—*Dryden*.

Bacon, in his 'Wisdom of the Ancients' (p. 257), thus writes:—"It was excellently said by Heraclitus, 'A dry light makes the best soul;' for if the soul contracts moisture from the earth, it perfectly degenerates and sinks. *Customs* :

Substitute a better word.

[28.] *So as*: so that.

Liberty: Synonyme?

best preservative to keep the mind in health is the [30] faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account, is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case; but the best receipt (best I say to work and best to [31] take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme

[30.] *Observing our faults, &c.*: It will always be improper for our case unless we make the right use of such observations,—which is, so to estimate the temptations of others that we may better understand our own. But though ten thousand of the greatest faults in others are to us of less consequence than one small fault in ourselves, yet we are more ready to examine our neighbors than ourselves, and to rest satisfied with finding, or fancying, that we are better than they; forgetting that, if it really is so, *better* does not always imply *good*; and that our course of duty is not like a race which is won by him who runs, however slowly, if the rest are still slower. Among the four kinds of bad examples that do us harm—namely those we *imitate*—those we proudly *exult* over—those which drive us into an *opposite* extreme—and those which lower our *standard*, this last is the most hurtful.—*W.*

Improper for our case: not exactly corresponding to our own case. [Observatio propriorum defectuum in aliis, tanquam in speculo, aliquando, ut fit etiam in speculis, minus respondet.—*Lat. Ed.*]

[31.] *Greater sort*: Equivalent expression? *Saith*: James 1: 23, 24. "He is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass; for he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was." Bacon gives not the words, but, as in other cases, the sense, or so much as suits his purpose. *Favor*: now obsolete in the sense here intended—appearance, countenance, face. 'This boy is fair, of female *favor*.' 'I have surely seen him; his *favor* is familiar to me.'

absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune; for, as St. James saith, they are as men "that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favor." As for business, a man may think, if he [32] will, that two eyes see no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four-and-twenty letters; or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight; and if any man think

[32.] *Laid over, &c.*: Allusion is made to the advice sometimes given to persons in anger, to avoid speaking, until they shall have named to themselves all the letters of the alphabet.

Rest: In the time of Bacon, a stand was used to support the gun. *Fond*: weak, foolish.

"'Tis *fond* to wail inevitable strokes, as 'tis to laugh at them."—*Shak.*

And such, &c.: What words does the sense require to be supplied? *All in all*: every thing to be desired; just what he ought to be.

"Thou shalt be *all in all*, and I in thee
Forever."—*Milton.*

But when all is done: Equivalent expression? *As well, &c.*: What correction or addition needs to be made in what immediately follows? *Except*: *unless* is better; for, properly, *except* is a preposition.

But such: better, *except such*. *Crooked*: perverted. *Of mischief, &c.*: of what will produce evil, and partly of what will counteract it.

Kind: in the obsolete sense of *way*, or *manner*. *Estate*: condition, circumstances.

"His letter there
Will show you his *estate*."—*Shak.*

"She cast us headlong from our high *estate*."—*Dryden.*

that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is as well (that is to say, better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all), but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief, and partly of remedy; even as you would call a physician that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore may put you in a way for present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease and kill the patient: but a friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience; and, therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels, for they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

[33] After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is, like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid, and bearing a part in all [34] actions and occasions. Here the best way to

[34.] *To cast*: Synonyme?

"I *cast* in careful mind

To seek her out."—*Spenser*.

Sparing speech: a speech that fell within rather than beyond the reality. [Atque inde apparebit, non per hyperbolen, sed sobrie dictum esse ab antiquis: *Amicum esse alterum se*; quandoquidem, si quis vere rem reputet, amici officia proprias cujusque vires superent.—*Lat. Ed.*]

represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients to say, "that a friend is another himself;" for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die [35] many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a [36] true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath [37]

Himself: Point out the ambiguity, and change the language so as to remove the ambiguity.

[35.] *Their time*: their appointed, limited time of living.

The bestowing, &c.: in marriage. *Many times*: Substitute a more accurate and less ambiguous expression. This sentence, in the Latin edition, is far more perspicuously expressed than in the English:—'*Homines mortales sunt; quin et in medio operum aliquorum, quæ maxime affectant, sæpe moriuntur: veluti in collocaione filii in matrimonium; consummatione conatum, et desideriorum suorum; et similibus.*'

[36.] *So that, &c.*: So that he has in his desires the limit of one life but of two. Thus in the Latin, which is more full than here:—'*Adeo ut fatum immaturum vix obsit; atque habeat quis in desideriiis suis terminum non unius, sed duarum vitarum.*'

[37.] *As it were*: a worthless superfluity of words here, as in many cases, in modern as well as more ancient speech and writing. It were better to omit it altogether, or to use some other phrase capable of being fairly analysed. It seems to be intended to intimate that what is said in connection is not to be taken literally or in the fullest extent; but such intimation is, or ever ought to be, superfluous. It is easy to apprehend

a body, and that body is confined to a place ; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy ; for he may exercise them by [38] his friend. How many things are there, which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do him- [39] self ? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them ; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like ; but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. [40] So again, a man's person hath many proper rela- [41] tions which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father ; to his wife but as a husband ; to his enemy but on terms : whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth [42] with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless ; I have given the rule, where a man can

without this anomalous admonition, when words are to be taken figuratively, or in a modified sense. In the Latin, the corresponding phrase is :—‘*Ut loquemur more tribulium aut firmariorum.*’ The same phrase in the next sentence has nothing in the Latin corresponding to it.

Scarce : Better form ? *Brook* : Synonyme ? ‘Young men cannot *brook* restraint.’ ‘We who cannot *brook* one lord.’ —*Macauley*. *Sometimes* : Has this word its proper place in the sentence ? *The like* : Supply the ellipsis.

Blushing : a cause of blushes, or of shame. [Ad quæ erubescimus in persona propria.—*Lat. Ed.*]

[38.] *Proper* : peculiar.

“Faults *proper* to himself.”—*Shak.*

[41.] *Upon terms* : (i. e.) of dignity. [Nisi salva dignitate.—*Lat. Ed.*] *As it sorteth, &c.* : As it agreeth with the person ; in adaptation to the relations of the person. [Neque ad respectus personæ alligatur.—*Lat. Ed.*]

not fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

[42.] *Were endless*: Supply ellipsis. *Play, &c.*: speak or act in his own behalf. *Quit the stage*: give up the prosecution of the business.

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1. Repeat from memory the elegant sentences of this Essay.
 2. Point out the inelegant ones.
 3. Point out the obscure or ambiguous ones.
 4. Point out the defective, incomplete ones
 5. Divide the Essay, properly, into Paragraphs.
 6. Make several sentences, respectively, out of §§ 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 21, 31. Point out the obsolete words or phrases, or those whose meaning has changed since Bacon's time.
 7. Make a careful Analysis of the Essay.
 8. How is Aristotle vindicated from Bacon's censure?
 9. Show that growth in Christian character does not disqualify for strong particular friendship?
 10. Mistake corrected as to the usefulness of the monastic life?
 11. Give an account of Epimenides; of Numa; of Empedocles, and of Apollonius. Describe the habits of the courtiers during the reign of James and of Charles.
 12. What is said of Sylla; and of Severus; and of Louis XI?
 13. Describe the Alchymists. Definition and origin of the word *Arras*? Misuse of the word by Bacon? State the case of Themistocles to which Bacon alludes.
 14. Heraclitus and Democritus compared?
 15. The use we are to make of our observations of the faults of others?
 16. Note the words or phrases, whose meaning or form has changed, or which have become obsolete since Bacon wrote.
 17. Remarks on the common phrase *as it were*?

ESSAY XV.

THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

[1] THE speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and [2] censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, "He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city." [3] These words (*holpen* a little with a metaphor) may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for, if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesman, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle; as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way, to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay: and, certainly,

[1.] *Had been*: Equivalent form? *Applied*: Supply ellipsis.

[2.] *Desired*: Is this concise form agreeable to modern usage? *He said*: i. e. Plutarch (*Vit. Themist*).

[3.] *Holpen*: modern form? 'They shall be *holpen* with a little help.'—*Dan.* 11: 84. Explain this parenthetic clause. The clause in the Latin edition is quite different: 'Ad sensum politicum translata.' *Estate*: is used in this Essay for *State*.

"The *estate* is green, and yet ungoverned."—*Shak.*

Those which: Modern usage? *Cunningly*: Synonyme?
As their: that their.

those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters, and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and govern- [4] ors which may be held sufficient, "*negotiis pares*," able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty [5] princes to have in their hand; to the end that neither by overmeasuring their forces, they lose themselves in vain enterprises; nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and terri- [6]

[4.] *Which may*: Amend the phrase. *Negotiis pares*: 'equal to business.' *But be, &c.*: Another mode of expression? *That is*: What word is to be supplied? This phrase might be omitted, if a dash were used instead of the semi-colon, and this alteration is preferable.

[5.] *Argument*: subject.

"Sad task! yet argument
Not less, but more heroic than the wrath
Of stern Achilles."—*Milton*.

They lose, &c.: Paraphrase. *Over-measuring*: over-estimating their strength. *Fearful*: Synonyme?

[6.] *Doth fall under*: Equivalent expression? *May appear*: Equivalent? *Cards*: Synonyme?

tory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation.

[7] The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not any thing, amongst civil affairs, more subject to error, than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of [8] an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel, or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread.

[9] So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet are apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

[10] Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horses, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the

[8.] *Is compared, &c.*: *Mat.* 18: 81. "The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field; which indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown, it is the largest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof." *To get up*: Synonyme.

[9.] *Apt*: adapted to. 'All that were strong and *apt* for war.'—2 *Kings*. *Apt to enlarge* [their territory] or [extend their] *command*: [Quæ tamen ad fines ulterius proferendos, aut latius imperandum, sunt minus apta.—*Lat. Ed.*]

Stem: trunk. Point out the confusion of figures in this member of the sentence.

[10.] *All this is*: What form would be better? *A sheep*, &c.: What figure of speech is here employed? *Except*: Substitute the more correct word.

people be stout and warlike. Nay, number [11] (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people are of weak courage; for, as Virgil saith, "It never troubles the wolf how many the sheep be." The [12] army of the Persians, in the plains of Arbela, was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, "He would not pilfer the victory;" and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the [13] Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, "Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight;" but, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many [14] are the examples of the great odds between number and courage; so that a man may truly make a judgment,

[11.] *Importeth not much*: Equivalent? *Virgil saith*:
Ecl. 7: 51.

"Hic tantum Boreæ curamus frigora, quantum
Aut numerum lupus, aut torrentia flumina ripæ."

[12.] Point out the figure of speech. *As it*: that it.
To set upon: Equivalent? *Pilfer*: Paraphrase.

[13.] *Tigranes*: (See Plutarch, Life of Lucullus, 27.)
Tigranes was defeated by Lucullus, and afterwards he yielded himself to Pompey. *Ambassage*: Embassy. 'He sendeth an ambassage, and desireth conditions of peace.'—Luke 14: 32.
Enow: Old plural of *enough*.

"Man hath selfish foes *enow* besides,
That day and night for his destruction wait."—Milton.

[14.] *Odds*: Synonyme? *Military*: Synonyme? Compare § 16. Explain the figure implied in *sineus of war*.

that the principal point of greatness, in any state, is to [15] have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing; for Solon said well to Cræsus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), "Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all [16] this gold." Therefore, let any prince, or state, think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise [17] wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show, that whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

[18] The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; that the same people, or nation, should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens: neither

[15.] *Trivially*: commonly, tritely. [Atque illud magis tritum, quam verum.—*Lat. Ed.*]

[16.] *Soberly*: *moderately*. 'Not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think *soberly*.'—*Romans* 12: 3. *Except*: Equivalent? Compare with the last clause, where the proper word is used. *Unless, &c.*: if they would not, otherwise, be wanting to themselves.

[17.] *Spread, &c.*: Explain the metaphor. *Mew*: cast or shed his feathers; hence put on an appearance altered for the worse. [Poterit fortasse pennas ad tempus breve nido majores extendere, sed defluent illæ paulo post.—*Lat. Ed.*]

[18.] *The blessing, &c.*: Reference is made to Jacob's last and prophetic words, *Gen.* 49: 9, 14, 15. "Judah is a lion's whelp—he stooped down, he crouched as a lion, and as an

will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true, that [19] taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries, and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England; for, you must note that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no [20] people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let states that aim at greatness, take heed [21] how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and, in effect, but a gentleman's labourer. Even as you may [22]

old lion. . . . Issachar is a strong ass crouching down between two burdens. And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute."

[19.] *Notably*: Synonyme?

"He is a most notable coward."—*Shak.*

Excises: Synonyme? *Subsidies*: money for the use of a State or Sovereign, voluntarily contributed by the people.

By imposing: by laying on authoritatively, i. e. by act and injunction of the government. Give the ordinary form of this word, and tell which form best suits the context.

Diversely: differently.

[20.] *Fit, &c.*: qualified for extending its rule.

[21.] *For that, &c.*: Improve the style. *Driven, &c.*: Equivalent?

[22.] *Coppice woods*: woods cut at certain times for fuel or other purposes, *Staddles*: the larger trees. *Clean*

see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs [23] and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth poll will be fit for an helmet, especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population [24] and little strength. This which I speak

underwood: small trees, free from refuse growth. [Non renascetur sylva sincera et pura; sed major pars in vepres et dumos degenerabit.—*Lat. Ed.*]

[23.] *Poll*: Synonyme?

[24.] *In regard*: for the reason that; on account of.

Houses of Husbandry: farm houses. *Of a standard*: i. e. of a certain, regular standard. The following clause in the text, explains the meaning of the word as used by Bacon.

Breed: cause. *And no*: Supply ellipsis. Upon consulting Bacon's 'History of Henry the Seventh,' we read:—

"The ordinance was, 'that all houses of husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up forever; together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them, and (by a statute made in his successor's time) in no wise to be severed from them.' By this means the houses being kept up did of necessity enforce a dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and manner-hood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise (alienate or transfer) a great part of the lands of the kingdom into the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers, or peasants."

Bacon goes on to say:—"In France and Italy, all is noblesse or peasantry, (I speak of people out of towns,) and no middle

of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not; and herein the device of King Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

“Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ.”

Neither in that state (which, for any thing I [25] know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be

people, and therefore no good forces of foot; insomuch as they are enforced to employ mercenary bands of Switzers, and the like, for their battalions of foot. Whereby also it comes to pass that those nations have much people, and few soldiers. Whereas the king (Henry VII) saw, that contrariwise it would follow that England, though much less in territory, yet should have infinitely more soldiers of their native forces than those other nations have. Thus did the king secretly sow Hydra's teeth; whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of the kingdom.”—*Hist. Henry VII*, pp. 359, 361.

Terra, &c.: Virgil's *Æneid* 1: 335. ‘A land strong in arms and in the richness of the soil.’

[25.] *State*: order of men. *Except*: Substitute the more proper word. *Which*: Give the proper word.

Great retinues: Chivalry and feudalism had made large trains of followers the appendages of rank, for the purposes of

found anywhere else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon the noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and there-

ostentation, ambition, or security, but now the nobles were obliged greatly to curtail their retinues, to suit the spirit of the times. The age was now gone by when an earl could ride forth with a small army of well dressed followers, or man his castle with a powerful domestic garrison. Elizabeth would not allow any nobleman to entertain more than one hundred followers. But the royal train still remained excessively numerous. When Elizabeth removed from place to place, she required on some occasions, for the conveyance of her household from the county in which she had been residing, the service of twenty-four thousand horses. The attendants by whom the nobles were served consisted of three different classes. The first consisted of gentlemen of good family, and younger sons of knights and squires. These either lived in the house, or held the highest offices in the establishment of the noble. The next class, properly called *retainers*, were persons of an inferior description. Their duty was to attend their lord on processions and public occasions, without living in the house, or performing any menial services, and for this they had a hood and a suit of clothes annually, together with daily maintenance and occasional gratuities. The servants, properly so called, were those that lived in the house, and were chiefly confined to its domestic services. They wore the livery of their office, which generally was a blue coat, together with a badge of silver, shaped like a shield, on the left arm, and having engraved on it the coat-of-arms or device of the master. The same badge of cognizance was also worn by the retainers. But the utmost of splendor and refinement which courtly pageants had attained during the reign of Elizabeth was displayed in those of Kenilworth, when the Queen made a progress thither to visit the Earl of Leicester in 1576. This is fully described in Sir Walter Scott's 'Kenilworth.'—*Craig's Hist. Eng.*, Vol. II, pp. 878, 874.

Received into custom: i. e. where they have become a customary thing.

fore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence, and great retinues, the hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness : whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the [26] trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great

[26.] *Procured* : provided for. *Tree of monarchy* : To feel the force and discern the beauty of this figure we must read the inspired account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, in *Daniel* 4 : 10 : "I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth. The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it."

Strangs : Equivalent ?

Fit for empire : Paraphrase.

Policy : Synonyme ? *All States, &c.* : What Bacon says of naturalization is most true and important. But he attributes [§ 28] more liberality in this point to the Romans than is their due. He seems to have forgotten their 'Social War,' brought on entirely by their refusal to admit their subjects to civil rights. It is remarkable that under the kings, and again under the emperors, there was the most of this liberality, and under the Republic, the least. This is quite natural. When it is the citizens that govern, they naturally feel jealous of others being admitted to an equality with them; but the sovereign has no reason to wish that one class or portion of his subjects should have an invidious advantage over another. There is an exception to this in cases where religious fanaticism comes in; as in the Turkish empire, where christian subjects have always been kept as a kind of Helots.—*W.*

Embrace : hold possession of; retain. *It, &c.* : What does *it* stand for ? The sentence commencing with 'for to think, &c.' is poorly constructed, in comparison with the corresponding one in the Latin :—'Vana siquidem fecerit opinio,

enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown, or state, bear a sufficient proportion to the strange subjects that they govern; therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire: for to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them, accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called "*jus civitatis*"), and to grant

posse manipulum hominum, utcunque animis et consilio excellent, regiones nimio plus amplas et spatiosas imperii jugo cohibere et frænare. Id ad tempus fortasse facere possint, sed diuturnitatem hæc res non assequitur.'

[27.] *Nice, &c.*: fastidious, sparing, in electing new citizens. [Parci fuerunt, et difficiles in cooptandis novis civibus.—*Lat. Ed.*] *Compass*: in the now obsolete sense of moderate bounds, small limits. [Donec intra parvos limites dominati sunt.—*Lat. Ed.*] *Windfall*: Explain the figure.

[28.] *It sorted*: happened.

"And if it *sort* not well."—*Shak*

[29.] *Jus civitatis*: Right of citizenship. *Jus, &c.*: Right of trading, the right of intermarriage, the right of inheritance, the right of voting, the right of holding offices.

Singular: in the now obsolete sense of *single*. 'To try the matter in a *singular* combat.'—*Holinshed*.

it in the highest degree, that is, not only "*jus commercii, jus connubii, jus hæreditatis*;" but also, "*jus suffragii*," and "*jus honorum*;" and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to [30] this, their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations; and putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have mar- [31] velled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards: but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes

[30.] *Constitutions*: What constitutions?

[31.] *At Spain, &c.*: Long since the time of Lord Bacon, as soon as these colonies had arrived at a certain state of maturity, they at different periods revolted from the mother country.—*D.*

Contain: Synonyme? *They*: Is this the right pronoun?

Sure: Synonyme? *They have*: What change is requisite?

That usage to naturalize: Improve the form of expression.

Pragmatical sanction: a solemn ordinance or decree issued by the head or legislature of a state upon weighty matters: a term derived from the Byzantine empire. In European history, two decrees under this name are particularly celebrated. One of these, issued by Charles VII, of France, A. D. 1438, was the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican church; the other, issued by Charles VI. of Germany, A. D. 1724, settled his hereditary dominions on his oldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa.—*Webster.*

in their highest commands: nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of natives, as by the pragmatistical sanction, now published, appeareth.

[32] It is certain that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm) have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour; therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures; but that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law.

[33] That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts; as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c., not reckoning professed soldiers.

[34] But, above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their

[32.] *Travail*: Old word for *labor*. 'As every thing of price, so this doth require *travail*.'—Hooker. *Broken of it*: Equivalent? *Which commonly, &c.*: who commonly dispatched those manufactures.

[33.] *Which, for, &c.*: Make the proper correction.
Easily: Synonyme? *Contain*: Synonyme? *Vulgar*: Synonyme? *Strong and manly arts*: Paraphrase.

[34.] *It importeth most*: Equivalent? *Habilitations*: fitnesses, qualifications. *Intention*: direction or application of mind to the object. [Quorsum autem *habilitas*, si non rei ipsi incumbitur, ut producat in actum?—*Lat. Ed.*]

principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they [35] report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The [36] fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time; the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe they [37] that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards: but it is so plain that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon; it is enough

[35.] *A present*: a command or order. 'Be it known to all men by these presents.'—*Shak.* Literally (from the Latin) by these present letters, or writings. The word is rarely used (as here by Bacon) in the singular. *Intend*: attend to. This sense is now obsolete. 'Having no children, she did intend the education of Philip.'—*Bacon.* 'My soul, not being able to intend two things at once, abated of its fervency in prayer.'—*Fuller.*

[36.] *A flash*: a transitory and brief period. *Declination*: Synonyme?

[37.] *That have it*: What answers to it? *Profiteth*: Synonyme? 'I profit not by thy talk.'—*Shak.* 'And profited in the Jews' religion.'—*Gal. 1: 14.* *Intendeth*: Synonyme?

Stood upon: Synonyme? *Profess arms*: Synonyme?

Fall, &c.: Equivalent? *Oracle*: utterance, decision.

What was the famous *Delphic oracle*, to which there seems to be an allusion? *Grown to decay*: Is this an appropriate expression? Much better in the Latin phrase used by Bacon: 'Etiam remissa illa armorum disciplina.'

to point at it—that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths; and, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age, have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

[38] Incident to this point is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some, at the least specious, grounds [39] and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that [40] he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war;

[38.] *Incident*: appertaining. *Pretended*: Synonyme?
Quarrels: reasons, or pleas (perhaps from Quare, 'wherefore,' used in Law for a plea in trespass). 'He thought he had a good *quarrel* to attack him.'—*Holinshed*.

[39.] *Law*: Koran.

[40.] *The limits*: Supply ellipsis. *Have this*: Supply ellipsis.
Politie: political. *Sit not, &c.*: Equivalent?
Pressed, or prest: prompt, eager, in a hurry.

"Each mind is *prest*, and open every ear
 To hear new tidings."—*Fairfax*.

"They poured *prestly* into the hall."—*Old Ballad*, 1737.

As if: that if.

first, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be pressed and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently [41] made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of state, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made war to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies; or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be [42] great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, [43] neither natural body nor politic; and certainly, to a kingdom, or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the [44]

[41.] *Tacit conformity of state*: with a view to reduce them to a corresponding form of government, with that of the attacking nation or party. [Propter statuum conformitatem quandam, aut correspondentiam tacitam.—*Lat. Edition.*] *Græcia*: Greece. ‘And the rough goat is the king of *Græcia*.’—*Dan.* 8: 21. *Others*: other governments.

[44.] *Effeminate: become effeminate*. ‘In a slothful prince courage will effeminate.’—*Pope.* *Corrupt: become corrupt.*

heat of a fever ; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health ; for, in a slothful peace, both courage will effeminate, and manners corrupt ; but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms : and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law ; or at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may be well seen in Spain ; which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six-score years.

[45] To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a

Howsoever it be, &c. : It is consolatory to think that no one would now venture to write, as Bacon does, about wars of aggrandizement. But it was the doctrine of his day, and of times not only much earlier, but also much later than his ; for the same sentiments are to be found in authors near two centuries after Bacon. It is certain that the folly as well as the wickedness of wars of aggrandizement is much better understood, and more freely acknowledged than even fifty years back. And to the shame of Christians it must be admitted that the costliness and the consequent inexpediency of a war of conquest, operates more in making men pause before they enter into a war, than motives of humanity.—*W.*

It maketh : It is of advantage. *Still* : continually.

[Quasi semper'—*Lat. Ed.*] *Chargeable* : Synonyme ?

On foot : Equivalent ? *Law* : in the sense of control, or ascendancy. *Reputation* : the [highest] reputation.

In Spain : It was its immense armaments that in a great measure consumed the vitals of Spain.—*D.* *By* : During.

'By the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one.'—*Acts* 20 : 31.

[45.] *An abridgment of a monarchy* : a condensed expression for monarchy, or supreme power. 'Idolatry is certainly the first-born of folly, the great and leading paradox ; nay the very abridgment and sum total of all absurdities.'—*South*. 'After

monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey [46] his preparation against Cæsar, saith, "*Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur cum rerum potiri;*" and without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effect of battles [47] by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples, where sea- [48] fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes, or states, have set up their rest upon the battles; but thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, [49] the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not

thou hadst drawn that large and real map of the world, thou didst thus *abridge* it into this little table of man; he alone consists of heaven and earth, soul and body.'—*Hall's Contemplations*.

[46.] *Pompey his*: old form for Pompey's. *Concilium*, &c.: 'Pompey's plan is clearly that of Themistocles; for he judges that whoever becomes master of the sea will obtain the supreme power.'—*Ad Attic.* 10: 8. *Had tired out*: Better form of expression?

[48.] *Final to the war*: Equivalent? *Set up their rest*, &c.: Equivalent?

[49.] *Vantage*: advantage.

"Yet you have all the *vantage* of her wrong."—*Shak.*

Merely: completely, entirely.

"Ulysses was to force forth his access
Though *merely* naked."—*Chapman.*

Accessory: an accompaniment.

merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessory to the command of the seas.

[50] The wars of later ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect to the glory and honour which reflected [51] upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers, and some remembrance perhaps upon the escutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers and such like things; but, in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courage; but, above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things;

[51.] *Be*: modern usage. *Degrees*: honorary distinctions.

Escutcheon: From the Latin *scutum*, a leather shield; the shield of a family, on which the family arms were represented. [Etiam in scutis gentilitiis stemmata nonnulla habemus.—*Lat. Ed.*]

Laudatives: panegyrics, or encomiums. 'The first was a *laudative* of monarchy.'—*Bacon's Speech*.

Emperor: the translation of the Latin word 'imperator,' designating a commander of a Roman army.

Able: Synonyme? *Pageants*: pompous show.

Gaudery: Ostentatious finery.

"The utmost *gaudery* of youth."—*South*.

Except: Substitute a better word. *Improprate*: appropriate. 'A supercilious tyranny, *improprating* the Spirit of God to themselves.'—*Milton*.

honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies; except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care-taking (as [52] the Scripture saith) "add a cubit to his stature," in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

[52.] *The Scripture: Mat. 6: 27; Luke 12: 25. Touched: Synonyme? 'If the antiquaries have touched it, they have immediately quitted it.'—Addison. Sow: Equivalent? What metaphor is implied?*

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1. Break up the longest sentences into two or more.
 2. Point out the elegant sentences, or phrases.
 3. Point out happy illustrations of the use of Scripture.
 4. What proof does the Essay furnish of the author's knowledge of ancient and modern history?
 5. In what embellishments does this Essay abound?
 6. Relate the facts drawn from the History of Henry VII. Correction of Bacon's statement in regard to the policy of ancient Rome? The Pragmatical Sanction?
 7. Write an Analysis of the Essay.
 8. Revise the distribution into paragraphs. Point out obsolete words or phrases.
 9. Examine the connectives employed by Bacon, and decide the question whether in each case they are needed, or the best that could be employed. In the use of this part of speech, he is rather profuse, and often careless, and inelegant.

ESSAY XVI.

REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

[1] THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physio; a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physio to preserve health; but it is a safer conclusion to say, "This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;" than this, "I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it;" for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age.

[2] Discern of the coming on of years, and think not

[1.] It is remarkable that Bacon should have said nothing in this Essay, of early or late hours; though it is a generally received opinion that early hours are conducive to longevity. There is a proverb that

"Early to bed, and early to rise,
Makes a man healthy, and wealthy, and wise."

And this is the more remarkable as being the proverb of a nation whose hours are the latest of any.—*W.*

Regimen: Synonyme! *In this*: Supply ellipsis.

Good of . . . *hurt of*: What preposition does usage now require? *Offence of this*: injury from this. 'Offence' is

now seldom applied to physical injury. 'The pains of the touch are greater than the offences of the senses.'—*Bacon*. 'To do offence and scath in Christendom.'—*Shak*. *Passeth over*: Equivalent?

Owing: used in a passive sense, contrary to analogy, instead of *owen* or *owed*. *Owing a man*, &c.: i. e. due to a man—not paid to him till his age; the effects of his excesses will be felt in his old age. [*Etenim vigor juventutis excessus plurimos tegit, qui tamen in senectute tandem velut debite exigentur.*—*Lat. Ed.*]

[2.] *Discern of*: used in an obsolete sense—take cognizance of. *Still*: Paraphrase.

to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of [3] diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy [4] customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so as, if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To [5] be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies [6]

[3.] *Great point*: Equivalent? *The rest*: other articles of diet.

[4.] *Customs*: Synonyme? *To any, &c.*: What should be supplied? *So as*: so that. *Thou come*: Supply ellipsis. *Particularly*: in a particular or individual case.

[5.] *Free-minded*: free from care and perplexity. *Meat*: food; meals.

“As he sat at his *meat*, the music played sweet.”—*Old Ballad*.

Of long lasting: for securing long endurance—long life.

[6.] *As for the passions, &c.*: Of persons who have led a temperate life, those will have the best chance of longevity who have done hardly any thing else but live; what may be called the *neuter verbs*—not active or passive, but only *being*: who have had little to do, little to suffer; but have led a life of quiet retirement, without exertion of body or mind,—avoiding all troublesome enterprise, and seeking only a comfortable obscurity. Such men, if of a very strong constitution, and if they escape any remarkable calamities, are likely to live long. But much affliction, or much exertion, and, still more, both

of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger, fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated.

[7] Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them: wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histo-

[8] ries, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sick-

[9] ness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body

[10] more, and trouble it less. Despise no new acci-

[11] dent in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action; for those that put their bodies to endure in

combined, will be sure to *tell* upon the constitution—if not at once, yet at least as years advance. One who is of the character of an active or passive verb, or, still more, both combined, though he may be said to have lived long in every thing but years, will rarely reach the age of the neuters.—*W*.

Inquisitions: Synonyme? *Communicated*: Synonyme?

[7.] *Mirth*: How distinguished from *joy*? *Fables*: works of the imagination, particularly epic or dramatic poems. No other *fables* "fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects."

[9.] *Commend*: Equivalent? *Some diet*: some specific kind of food.

[10.] *Accident*: striking, or unaccustomed change of condition. *Ask, &c.*: Take medical advice. *Of it*: Equivalent?

[11.] *Respect*: Have regard to. *Tendering*: Synonyme?

health, may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Cel- 12] sus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries; but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: so shall nature be cherished and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them [13] so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a [14]

[12.] *Full eating*: full satisfaction of hunger.

[13.] *Other*: in modern usage, *others*. *As they*: that they.

[14.] *Either*: each. 'On *either* side of the river.'—*Rev.* 22: 2. When should *either*, and when should *each*, be employed?

Faculty: Synonyme?

To the directions and counsels of Lord Bacon, in this Essay, we shall add a part of one of the 'Greyson Letters,' by Henry Rogers, on the same subject, both for the sake of the excellence of the matter and of the style, which may be compared with that of Bacon:—"Comply to the utmost of your power with the general conditions of health, which are equally to be observed by every body, and which, when diseases *can* be cured, will generally suffice to cure them—though a wise physician may do much to aid the process. Take all the indications nature itself gives you, and act upon them rigidly. Be regular in your hours—take plenty of air and exercise—do not rob yourself of the proper *quantum* of sleep for business, or for any thing—however necessary you may deem it. Above all, be careful to take that diet which you feel by experience best

middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort: and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

agrees with you We almost all eat more than fairly can be assimilated, and hence a chronic failure in the tone of the organ habitually overworked. . . . Whether the taking of food beyond what nature requires, be the effect of involuntary or voluntary depravity of appetite, your old Mentor and mine is of opinion that, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand, it is the cause, remote or proximate, of all the infinite forms of that comprehensive disease, which lets our consciousness into a secret which nature intended we should be ignorant of,—namely, “that we have stomachs.” He affirms, and I rather think with truth, that nearly all the learned talk that is made about the *quality* of food as wholesome, or otherwise, difficult or easy of digestion, might be spared, if only people sinned not in *quantity*.—Pp. 298, 294.

1. Re-write the Essay, with a view to present the thoughts in a more perspicuous and popular style, with a suitable arrangement into paragraphs.
2. What familiar advice for the preservation of health does Bacon omit?
3. What class of persons are wittily compared by Whately to *straw beds*;
4. What important counsels for the preservation of health are given by Rogers?

ESSAY XVII.

SUSPICION.

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats [1] amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check

[1.] *Are like bats, &c.*: As there are dim-sighted persons, who live in a sort of perpetual twilight, so there are some who, having neither much clearness of head, nor a very elevated tone of morality, are perpetually haunted by suspicions of every body and every thing. Such a man attributes—judging in great measure from himself—interested and selfish motives to every one. Accordingly, having no great confidence in his own penetration, he gives no one credit for an open and straightforward character, and will always suspect some underhand dealings in every one, even when he is unable to perceive any motive for such conduct, and when the character of the party affords no ground for suspicion. ('Ill-doers are ill-deemers.') One, on the contrary, who has a fair share of intelligence, and is himself thoroughly upright, will be comparatively exempt from this torment. He knows, from consciousness, that there is *one* honest man in the world; and he will consider it very improbable that there should be *but* one. He will therefore look carefully to the general character and conduct of those he has to deal with; suspecting those—and those only—who have given some indications of a want of openness and sincerity, trusting those who have given proof of an opposite character, and keeping his judgment suspended as to those of whom he has not sufficient knowledge.—*W.*

Suspiciens: the act of suspecting evil; the imagining of the existence, of something without proof, or upon very slight evidence.

Lose: cause us to lose.

Check with:

interfere with; clash with. [*Negotia* interpellant.—*Lat. Ed.*]

with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly: they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy: they are defects not in the heart but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures: as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England; there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted but with examination, whether they be likely or no; but in fearful natures they gain

‘It was not comely or fitting that in prayers we should make a God or Saviour of any of the saints in heaven; neither was it fitting to make them *check with our Saviour*.’—*Strype*, 1585.

Currently: progressively. ‘Time, as it *currently* goes on establishes a custom.’—*Hayward*.

Henry, &c.: In his Life of this king, Bacon thus writes:—‘He was a prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts, and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials, especially touching persons; as, whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like: keeping as it were, a journal of his thoughts. He was indeed *full of apprehensions and suspicions*; but as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others.’—Pp. 476, 477.

Stout: bold, brave. [Quo non fuit suspiciacior nec tamen animosior.—*Lat. Ed.*] ‘He lost the character of a bold, *stout*, magnanimous man.’—*Clarendon*. *Stout*, in our early writers (as in the English Bible) was used chiefly or wholly in the sense of *strong* or *bold*; as, a *stout* champion; a *stout* heart; a *stout* resistance, &c. At a later period it was used for *thick-set* or *bulky*; and more recently, especially in England, the idea has been carried still further, so that Taylor says in his Synonymes, ‘The *stout* man has the proportions of an ox; he is corpulent, fat, and fleshy in relation to his size.’ Few in America entirely drop the original sense of *strong* and *bold*; and many who have read Washington Irving’s “Stout Gentleman” never suspected that he was merely a *very fat* man.—*Webster*.

ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man [2] suspect much, more than to know little: and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? do they think those they [3] employ and deal with are saints? do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false: for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind [4] of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Cer- [5]

Likely: [Probables sint, anon.—*Lat. Ed.*] *Or no*:
Recent usage rather requires *or not*. *Fearful*: Synonyme?

[2.] *To know little*: Equivalent? *Procuring to know more*: Equivalent? *In smother*: in a stifled state; in obscurity. Used also in Essay on Friendship.

[3.] *Account upon*: Equivalent? *Bridle, &c.*: check, restrain them as though they were false. We should hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst. *As if*: that if. The use of *as* (in Bacon's time) instead of *that*, produces no small embarrassment in the mind of a modern reader.

[4.] *Suspensions that*: It would sound better here to substitute *which* for *that*. *Buzzes . . . stings*: Explain the metaphor.

[5.] *Mean*: means. 'The virtuous conversation of Christians was a *mean* to work the conversion of the heathen to Christ.'
To clear, &c.: Notice the appropriate and beautiful figure here employed. *Communicate them with*: What change

tainly the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion; but this should not be done to men of base natures: for they, if they find [6] themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, "*Sospetto licentia fede*;" as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

does modern usage here require? *Circumspect*: careful. The omission of the comma would render the sense more plain.

Should not: Bacon wrote it *would not*. *Sospetto, &c.*: 'Suspicion releases faith.' *Did give, &c.*: did set faith, or fidelity at liberty—or permit it to depart. As Bacon says in his *Antitheta*:—*Suspicio fidem absolvit*: 'Suspicion breaks the bonds of trust (or fidelity).' On the other hand he also says:—*Merito ejus fides suspecta est, quam suspicio labefacit*: 'The fidelity (or sincerity) which suspicion weakens is justly suspected.'

Sospetto, &c.: 'Suspicion is the passport to faith.' *But it ought, &c.*: a clause rendered obscure chiefly from the vague use of the pronoun *it*; the meaning perhaps is: 'But it ought rather to excite fidelity in order to discharge itself.' Bacon, though a profound and original, is too frequently a very obscure and a very careless writer, when compared with the best, or even the common-place writers of the present day. The Latin is more plain than the English:—'*Quasi suspicio fidei missionem daret; cum potius fidem accendere deberet, ut se ipsam liberaret*;' i. e. 'as if suspicion should give a dismission to fidelity; when, rather, it ought to inflame fidelity, that it (fidelity) might free itself (from suspicion).'

1. Divide the longer sentences into two or more, and the Essay into Paragraphs.
2. Write an Analysis of the Essay.
3. Present the whole Essay in a modern dress, and in good taste.
4. What beautiful simile, and what expressive metaphor does the Essay contain?
5. What class of persons is especially addicted to unfavorable suspicions? Repeat the proverb that illustrates this point. What class is exempt from such suspicions, and why?
6. Bacon's portrait of Henry VII, so far as the subject of the Essay is concerned?
7. Name the words in this Essay that have undergone a change of meaning since Bacon's day.

ESSAY XVIII.

DISCOURSE.

[1] **SOME** in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what [2] should be thought. Some have certain common-places and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous.

[1.] *Wit*: in the large sense of intellect, genius, force of mind. Since the time of Bacon, it has been chiefly employed to denote the power or the act of presenting some word, thought, or object under some new and unexpected aspect or relation, so as to produce a pleasant surprise or a sense of the ludicrous. According to Dryden, "wit is discovered when thoughts and words are elegantly adapted to the subject." Locke observes that it is the putting those ideas together with quickness and variety wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleasant pictures in the fancy. Sidney Smith, himself a great wit, has two very interesting Lectures on the subject, in his *Moral Philosophy*.

Hold all arguments: maintain all sorts of argument. "It has been remarked that a censure of this nature has been applied by some to Dr. Johnson, and possibly with some good reason."—*D.* *A praise*: a condensed or elliptical expression, for what? *And not, &c.*: and not what should [merely] be thought, [not said.] Thus reads the Latin:—*'Acsi laudabile esset invenire quid dici possit, non quid taceri debeat.'*

[2.] *Wherein, &c.*: Paraphrase. [In quibus luxuriantur, cætera steriles et jejuni.—*Lat. Ed.*]

The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else, for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest: for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now, to jade any thing too far. As for jest, there be certain things which

[3.] *To give the occasion*: to give the incident, the topic of conversation. [Ansam sermonis præbere.] *Moderate*: regulate, control the conversation.

Montagu, in his *Life of Bacon*, says:—"The art of conversation, that social mode of diffusing kindness, and knowledge, he considered to be one of the valuable arts of life, and all that he taught he skillfully and gracefully practised. When he spoke, the hearers only feared that he should be silent, yet he was more pleased to listen than to speak, 'glad to light his torch at any man's candle.' He was skillful in alluring his company to discourse upon subjects in which they were most conversant. He was even happy to commend, and unwilling to censure; and when he could not assent to an opinion, he would set forth its ingenuity, and so grace and adorn it by his own luminous statement, that his opponent would not feel lowered by his defeat."

[4.] *Of the present occasion*: about present things or matters of recent occurrence. *Tales, &c.*: narratives with reasonings.

To tire: the object seems to be omitted, for there is no propriety in regarding *thing* as its object. Hence it should be, *to tire one*, that is by pursuing too far any one subject or style of discourse. The author had recommended variety of topic or illustration. *Jade*: over-ride, or drive.

"I do not now fool myself to let imagination jade me."—*Shak.*

[Satietatem siquidem et fastidium parit in aliquo subjecto diutius hæerere.]

[5.] *There be*; Modern usage? *Privileged*: exempted as by privilege. *Wits*: intellectual faculties.

ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled:

"Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris."

- [6] And, generally, men ought to find the difference
 [7] between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory.
 [8] He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions

The quick: is the part that is sensitive to pain, (as 'this toucheth the quick.'—*Latimer*.) Hence to *the quick* means, so as to produce a lively sensation.

Piquant: Synonyme?

Would be, &c.: *Should be* bridled, i. e. requires to be.

Query. Is there not a mixed figure in the phrase, 'a vein which should be bridled?' How should we go to work to put a bridle on a vein, whether you regard *vein* as a current of blood flowing in its tube, or in the geological sense as a seam or layer of mineral substance? Compare with Essay I, § 2, where Bacon uses *vein* in the first of these senses. How may the idea be conveyed without a mixture of figures? The Latin is free from the fault now adverted to:—'Ille *habitus* omnino coerendus.' The phrase *dart out* is highly expressive and appropriate.

Parce, &c.: 'Boy spare the spur (or whip) and more firmly hold the reins.'—*Ovid's Met.* 2: 127.

[6.] *To find*: Synonyme? [Discrimen servandum inter salsa et amara.]

[7.] *Satirical vein*: satirical tendency and aptitude of mind. 'He can open a *vein* of true and noble thinking.'—*Swift*.

[8.] *Content*: please or gratify.

"It doth much *content* me to have him so inclined."—*Shak*.

to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge; but let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser; and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and bring others on; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you [9] dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not. Speech of a man's [10] self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew [11] one was wont to say in scorn, "He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself;" and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is, in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself

Apply: Synonyme? *Skill*: Synonyme? *Poser*: examiner (from *pose*, to question closely). 'She *posed* him, and sifted him to try whether he were the very Duke of York, or not.'—*Bacon's Henry VII.* [Id *examinatori* convenit.]

Galliards: a light, sprightly dance, very much practiced in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

"Gay galliards here my love shall dance
Whilst I my foes goe fighte."—*Fair Rosamond.*

"What is thy excellence in a galliard, Knight?"—*Shak.*

[9.] *Dissemble*: Synonyme? *That*: that which.

[10.] *Of*: Synonyme? *Seldom*: An adjective, or an adverb?

[11.] *One was*: Supply the ellipsis. *Pretendeth*: Synonyme?

[12] *pretendeth*. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as [13] a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house: the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, "Tell truly, was there never a flout [14] or dry blow given?" To which the guest would [15] answer, "Such and such a thing passed." The lord would say, "I thought he would mar a good [16] dinner." Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good [17] order. A good continued speech, without a good

[12.] *Speech of touch towards others*: of particular application to them; personal and severe hits. [Sermo alios pungens et vellicans, parce utendus; etenim sermones familiares debent esse, instar campi aperti, in quo spatium licet; non viæ regis, quæ deducit domum.]

[13.] *Flout*: insult, taunt, jibe.

"These doors are barred against a bitter *flout*;
Snarl if you please; but you shall snarl without."—*Dryden*.

"Full of comparisons and wounding *flouts*."—*Shak*.

Dry Blow: sarcastic, biting remark.

[16.] *Agreeably*: in a manner suited. *Order*: style; arrangement of words.

[17.] *A good, &c.*: To understand the passage, strong emphasis must be laid on *without*, in each member. It may thus be paraphrased:—A good protracted speech, where there is a want of ability to make a good reply to questions or objections that may unexpectedly be urged by way of interruption, shows a want of promptness; and, on the other hand, a good reply, or speech suggested by something said by another party, where

speech of interlocution, shows slowness: and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see [18] in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circum- [19]

there is no ability to make a good set speech, free from interruptions, shows superficiality and want of force.

[18.] *That those that*: a disagreeable combination and alliteration. Better, *that those which*. *As it is, &c.*: a condensed clause. Expand it.

[19.] *Circumstances*: unimportant particulars; preliminaries; adjuncts. *The matter*: another condensed expression, for *the principal matter*. [Circumstantiis nimio pluribus orationem vestire, antequam rem ipsam attingas, tædium parit; hisdem penitus carere, abruptum quiddam est, et ingratum.]

To use too many, &c.: Bacon might have noticed some who never 'come to the matter.' How many a meandering discourse one hears, in which the speaker aims at nothing, and—hits it. In this Essay, Bacon does not notice the important distinction between those who speak because they *wish to say something*, and those who speak because they *have something to say*: that is, between those who are aiming at displaying their own knowledge or ability, and those who speak from fullness of matter, and are thinking only of the matter, and not of themselves and the opinion that will be formed of them. This latter Bishop Butler calls (in reference to writings) 'a man's writing with simplicity and in earnest.' Another distinction similar to the above, is between an 'unconscious' and a 'conscious' manner; only that the latter extends to persons who are not courting applause, but anxiously guarding against censure. By a 'conscious' manner is meant, in short, a continual thought about oneself, and about what the company will think of us. Some draw a distinction, again, between the *desire to please*, and the *desire to give pleasure*: meaning by the former an anxiety to obtain for yourself the good opinion of those you

stances, ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

converse with, and by the other, the wish to gratify *them*. Again, the more intensely occupied any one is with the subject matter of what he is saying—the business itself that he is engaged in—the less will his thoughts be turned on himself, and on what others think of him.—*W*.

1. Point out the sentences that may be improved by division into two or more.
2. Write an Analysis of the Essay; also a Paraphrase of the whole, conformed to modern style.
3. Point out the obsolete words or phrases; or those whose meaning has undergone a change since the Essay was written.

ESSAY XIX.

RICHES.

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage [1] of virtue ; the Roman word is better, "*impedimenta*;" for as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue ; it cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march ; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory : of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution ; the rest is but conceit ; so saith Solomon, "Where much is, there are many to consume it ; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes ?" The personal fruition in any [2] man cannot reach to feel great riches ; there is a cus-

[1.] *Impedimenta* : baggage : hence figuratively, *hindrances*, *impediments*. [Divitiarum magnarum nullus est usus, præterquam in iis expendendis : cætera in opinione versantur.]

The rest is but conceit : Paraphrase. *Where, &c.* : Bacon does not quote from the common English version of Eccles. 5 : 11, which reads thus :—"When goods increase, they are increased that eat them ; and what good is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes ?"

Loseth : causeth us to lose. It seems to be, however, an established idiom of our language. There are other examples in Bacon's writings.

[2.] *The personal, &c.* : Paraphrase the first clause.

Dole : a dealing out or apportionment. 'That in the *dole* of blows your son might drop.'

"So sure the *dole*, so ready at their call
They stood prepared to see the manna fall"—*Dryden*.

Donative : from *donare*, to give, a gift or largess. 'The Romans were entertained with shows and *donatives*.'—*Dryden*.

tody of them, or a power of dole and donative of them, or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner.

[3] Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be

[4] some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles, as Solomon saith, "Riches are as a stronghold in the imagination of the rich man;" but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact; for, certainly, great riches have sold [5] more men than they have bought out. Seek not

[3.] *Feigned*: Synonyme? *Because*: in order that.
[*Ut usus, &c.*]

[4.] *Saith*: Prov. 10: 15, compared with 28: 11. 'The rich man's wealth is his strong city.' *Bought out*: redeemed.

[5.] *Proud riches*: Why so described? [*Divitias magnas.*]
No abstract or friarly contempt: no contempt of riches viewed apart from their proper uses, and such as the Romish monks professed to entertain. [*A seculo abstracti.*] *Distinguish*: [*Sed de usu distingue.*] *In studio*: 'In his desire to increase his fortune, it was evident that he sought, not the gratification of avarice, but the means of doing good.'—*Cic. P. Rabir. 2.*

There is a passage in the Life of Bacon, by Devey, which forms a beautiful illustration of this sentence:—"His nature was abhorrent of avarice, the most degrading of human passions. He enriched himself only to lavish his bounties on others, and to invest his household with an air of splendid magnificence. Selfish distinctions of *meum* and *tuum*, so jealously observed by little minds, were hardly impressed upon his noble nature, and he showed as much readiness to dispense gifts as to accept them. With him splendor did not extend to luxurious gratification, or unfit him for acts of benevolence. At table he was exceedingly temperate, and satisfied himself with the simplest food. The needy never left his mansion unrelieved, and his

proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract or friarly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, "*in studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri.*"

Hearken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty [6] gathering of riches; *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons.*" The poets feign, that when Plutus (which [7] is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil; for when riches come from the devil

purse was ever open to promote the charitable objects of the benevolent. It is impossible that such a character should not make us forget his vices and pay tribute to his virtues, as well as his genius."

Have no abstract, &c.: Instead of affecting ungratefully to slight or to complain of God's gifts (the goods of this world), it is our part to endeavor to make them *goods to us*, by studying to use them aright, and to promote, through them, the best interests of ourselves and our fellow creatures.—*W.*

[6.] *Qui, &c.*: 'He who hastens to riches shall not be without guilt.' The common English version reads:—'He that maketh haste to be rich, shall not be innocent.'—Prov. 28: 20.

[7.] *By the death, &c.*: Pluto, in the ancient mythology, was king of Hades—the place of departed spirits; hence riches obtained by the will of deceased persons are represented as coming from Pluto.

Upon speed: at or with.

"Take upon command what help we have."—*Shak.*

(as by fraud and oppression, and unjust means), they [8] come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul: parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from [9] works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth; but it is slow: and yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly.

[10] I knew a nobleman of England that had the

[9.] *Improvement*: Synonyme? *Obtaining, &c.*: a condensed expression. Supply the ellipsis. *Blessing*: means of happiness. *Great mother*: The Earth has been so called, perhaps, from the inspired account of man's creation:—"And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground."—Gen. 2:7. See also Gen. 8:19; Job 10:9; Eccl. 12:7. Some Pagan writers have denominated the Earth as 'mother,' because it produces all things; and there are some examples of ancient Pagans, when about to die, commending themselves to their mother, Earth. So, one's country is often affectionately called our mother, as in a certain sense it produced, and it sustains us.

The idea here before us, is beautifully exhibited in Bacon's Story of Deucalion, in these words:—"The poets tell us, that the inhabitants of the old world being totally destroyed by the universal deluge, excepting Deucalion and Pyrrha, these two, desiring with zealous and fervent devotion to restore mankind, received this oracle for answer, that 'they should succeed by throwing their mother's bones behind them.' This at first cast them into great sorrow and despair, because, as all things were levelled by the deluge, it was in vain to seek their mother's tomb; but at length they understood the expression of the oracle to signify the stones of the earth, which is the mother of all things."—Page 239 of the 'Wisdom of the Ancients.'

[10.] *Audits*: rent-rolls, accounts of income. [Cui maximi redditus proveniebant e re rustica.]

"Yet I can make my *audit* up."—Shak.

So as: so that.

greatest audits of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry: so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by [11] one, "That himself came very hardly to little riches, and very easily to great riches;" for when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The [12] gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by diligence, and by a

[11.] *Can expect, &c.*: can wait for the best of markets; or for a rise of prices. '*Expecting* till his enemies be made his footstool.'—*Heb.* 10: 13. '*Elihu* had *expected* till Job had spoken.' *And overcome, &c.*: Another very obscure clause, but much plainer in the Latin: '*Atque eos contractus superare, quibus ob summæ magnitudinem perpauci admodum homines apti sunt; atque etiam in laboribus aliorum participare, qui minus pecunia abundant; fieri non potest quin supra modum ditescat.*' Whence we derive the following substitute: '*And to secure [easily command] those bargains which on account of their greatness very few men are fitted to secure, and also to participate in the [avails of the] labors of others who have less money, he cannot but increase his wealth enormously.*'

[12.] *Honest*: honorable. '*Provide things honest in the sight of all men.*'—*Rom.* 12: 17. *Gains of bargains*: i. e. of the larger bargains referred to. *Wait upon*: wait for; watch for. *Broke*: buy, or transact business.

Chapmen: buyers.

"Fair Diomedes, you do as *chapmen* do—

Dispraise the thing that they intend to buy."—*Shak.*

Grindeth double: Paraphrase.

good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity; broke by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naughty: as for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the [13] seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. [14] Usury is the certainest means of gain, though

[13.] *Sharings*: Partnerships. [Societates.]

[14.] *Usury*, &c.: Bacon has written an entire Essay on Usury, the beginning of which may serve as a paraphrase on this sentence. It reads thus:—"Many have made witty invectives against Usury. They say that it is pity [a pity] the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe; that the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

'Ignavam fucos pecus a praecepibus arcent;'

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, 'In sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum' [Gen. 3: 19], 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' not 'In sudore vultus alieni,' ['In the sweat of another's face;'] that usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do Judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget money; and the like. I say this only that usury is a 'concessum propter duritiam cordis' [a concession on account of hardness of heart, see Mat. 19: 8]; for, since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as [that] they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted."

Certainest: Modern form? *Doth plough*, &c.: Paraphrase.

Scriveners: men who transact the business for others of putting money at interest. *Do value*, &c.: represent as trustworthy or reliable, men of doubtful fortunes

one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, "*in sudore vultus alieni*;" and besides, doth plough upon Sundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scrivener and brokers do value unsound men to serve their own turn. The for- [15] tune in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches; as it was with the first sugar-man in the Canaries:

Usury, &c.: In Bacon's day, and long before, many held it absolutely sinful to receive any interest for money, on the ground of the prohibition of it to the Israelites in their dealings with each other; though the Mosaic Law itself proves the contrary, since it allows lending at interest to a stranger; and certainly the Israelites were not permitted to oppress and defraud strangers. It seems strange that a man of Bacon's acuteness should not have perceived that there is no essential difference between the use of any other kind of property, and money, which represents, and is equivalent to, any and all kinds. It never occurred to Bacon, seemingly, that no man is called hard-hearted for not letting his *land* or his *house* rent free, or for requiring to be paid for the use of his house, or his ship, or any other kind of property. No doubt, advantage is often taken of a man's extreme necessity to demand a high interest, and exact payment with rigor. But it is equally true that advantage is taken, in some crowded town, of a man's extreme need of a night's lodging. And, it is but too well known, that where there is an excessive competition for *land*, as almost the sole mode of obtaining a subsistence, it is likely that an exorbitant rent will be asked, and exacted with unbending severity. But who would thereupon propose that the letting of land be prohibited, or that a maximum of rent should be fixed by law? For, legislative interposition in dealings between man and man, except for the prevention of fraud, generally increases the evil it seeks to remedy.—*W.*

[15.] *The fortune, &c.*: Paraphrase. *Sugar-man*: planter of the sugar cane. *Fit*: propitious. *To guard, &c.*: to fortify uncertain methods of gain with certain, so as to provide for and be able to meet losses.

therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit; he that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore to guard adventures, with certainties that may uphold losses.

[16] Monopolies, and coemption of wares for resale,

[16.] *Monopolies*: Queen Elizabeth took it upon herself to grant patents of monopoly by scores. There was scarcely a family in the realm that did not feel itself aggrieved by the oppression and extortion which this abuse naturally caused. Iron, oil, vinegar, coal, saltpetre, lead, starch, yarn, skins, leather, glass, could be bought only at exorbitant prices. The House of Commons met in an angry and determined mood. The court of the chief minister of the crown was surrounded by an indignant populace, who cursed the monopolies, and exclaimed that the prerogative should not be suffered to touch the old liberties of England.—*Macaulay's England*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 48.

Refer now to the Sketch of Bacon's Life in the beginning of this volume, and read how Buckingham and Bacon thus enriched themselves. About the same time, the amusements of the court of James were masques and emblematic pageants, often got up at great expense, and in great variety. A few years after the death of James (in 1633), an improved and gorgeous exhibition of this kind was presented before the king, queen, and court at Whitehall, by the members of the Inns of Court. "It consisted of a *masque* and an *anti-masque*. The first was arrayed and marshalled after the fashion of a Roman triumph, the figures composing which consisted of the comeliest men in England, dressed in the most splendid and becoming costume; the dresses and chariots, and studs were covered with ornaments of gold and silver, and blazed in the light of countless torches, while the whole procession moved with measured steps to accompanying bands of music. No puppet or impersonation (as in the reign of James), whether of the classical, allegorical, or romantic world, intended to mar the chasteness

where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though [17] it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flat-

of the exhibition—all was real, modern, and of the choicest and happiest selection. Something more, however, was still necessary for the gratification of the popular taste, and the *anti-masque*, which followed, was an avowed but good-humored parody upon the first part of the procession. It was formed of cripples, beggars, and other squalid figures, mounted upon miserable jades, and moving along to the music of keys, toys, and bones. The whole exhibition was designed originally to express the devotedness of the inns of Court to Charles I. and his measures, and their abhorrence of Puritanism; but in the *anti-masque*, a sly opportunity was also taken of ridiculing the subject of patents, one of the chief political abuses of the day. Thus one man appeared mounted upon a little horse, with a great bit in his mouth, and a head-stall and reins about his ears; this was a projector wanting a patent that none should be allowed to ride their horses except with such bits as they should buy of him. Other projectors were ridiculed in a similar manner; and this part of the pageant pleased the spectators the more, because by it an information was covertly given to the king of the unfitness and ridiculousness of those projects against the law. At the close, the whole party repaired to the Banqueting House at Whitehall, where dancing continued till morning, when a sumptuous banquet closed the entertainment. The expense of this rich pageant amounted to £21,000."

Coemption: from *con* and *emere*, to buy together :—the buying up of the whole quantity of any commodity.

Restrained: prohibited by law.

[17.] *Best rise*: best rank. [Opum acquisitio per servitium regum aut magnetum dignitatem quandam habet: tamen si assentationibus et servilibus artificiis, sese ad omnes nutus flectendo, parentur, inter vias vilissimas poterit numerari.]

Feeding humours: Paraphrase. Should not the preposition be repeated here, as also before *others*?

tery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, [18] they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, "*testamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi*,") it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much of them that seem to despise riches, for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse

[18.] *Testaments*: Synonyme? *Testamenta*: 'Wills and childless persons were caught [by him] as though with a hunting-net.'—*Tacit. Ann.* 18: 48. This sentence is found in a scathing speech of a talented but (in the judgment of Tacitus) a venal and unprincipled orator, of the name of Suillius, who had been arraigned before the Roman Senate on some criminal charge:—"By what rules of philosophy" (said he) "has this professor (referring to Seneca) warped into the favor of the Emperor, and, in less than four years, amassed three hundred million of sesterces? Through the city of Rome his snares are spread; last wills and testimonies are his quarry, and the rich who have no children are his prey. By exorbitant usury he has overwhelmed all Italy; the provinces are exhausted, and he is still insatiate. The wealth of Suillius cannot be counted great; but it is the fruit of honest industry."—*Murphy's Tac.*

In service: To what kind of service, or to whom, does the author refer?

[19.] *Believe, &c.*: Paraphrase the sentence. Improve its perspicuity by substituting the noun for the pronoun.

Worse: seems to be used in the now unusual sense of *less*. As in the sentence, 'Think not the *worse* of him for his enterprise.' *Believe not much, &c.*: The declaimers on the incompatibility of wealth and virtue are mere declaimers. For you will often find them, in the next breath, applauding or condemning every measure or institution, according to its supposed tendency to increase or diminish wealth. You will find them not only readily accepting wealth themselves from any honorable source, and anxious to secure from poverty their children and all most dear to them (for this might be referred

when they come to them. Be not penny-wise ; [20] riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their [21] kindred, or to the public ; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great estate left to an heir, [22] is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment : likewise glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt ; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrify and corrupt in-

to the prevalence of passion or principle), but even offering up solemn prayers to heaven for the prosperity of their native country, and contemplating with joy a flourishing condition of agriculture, manufactures, or commerce ; in short, of the sources of her wealth. Such declaimers against wealth resemble the Harpies of Virgil, seeking to excite disgust at the banquet of which they are themselves eager to partake.—*W.*

[20.] *Penny-wise* : Equivalent ? The common proverb “ penny-wise and pound foolish,” may here be adduced.

[22.] *Stablished* : established. As in 2 *Thess.* 2 : 17, ‘ Comfort and *stablish* your hearts.’ So in Shakespeare, ‘ And *stablish* quietness on every side.’ What metaphors are employed in this sentence ? *The better* : What would a modern writer use instead of this ? *Glorious* : magnificent. Bacon’s Latin original reads :—‘ *Fundationes gloriosæ et splendide in usus publicos.*’ *Are like, &c.* : Why like them ? *But the, &c.* : Why so ? *Advancements* : gifts in money or lands. ‘ The jointure and *advancement* of the lady was the third part of the Principality of Wales.’—*Bacon’s Hist.*

Therefore measure not, &c. : Another instance in which the English form of Bacon’s thought is very obscure, while the Latin form is clearly and beautifully expressed :—‘ *Itaque dona tua magnitudine ne metiaris, sed commoditate ; et ad debitam mensuram redigas.*’ ‘ Wherefore do not measure thy gifts by their magnitude, but by their just and suitable proportion, and

wardly; therefore, measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure; and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

bring them down to a proper measure.' *Defer not charities till death:* Mr. George Peabody of Massachusetts, is now (1867) giving a most splendid illustration of conformity to this sage advice of Lord Bacon, having within a year or two distributed to various institutions of learning, and other objects of beneficence, not less than Eight Millions of Dollars. He is still living, and will probably carry to a still larger magnificence his 'charities till Death.'

1. Write an Analysis. Paragraph the Essay. Point out the sentences that would be improved by divisions into one or more.

2. Paraphrase the Essay, presenting the thoughts fully, in a clear, easy, ornate style.

3. Point out the words and phrases that have changed their meaning, or form, or have become obsolete since Bacon wrote.

4. Anecdote concerning Bacon's freedom from avarice?

5. The view to be taken of God's providential gifts? The story of Deucalion?

6. What witty things have been said against Usury?

7. The opinion of Bacon, and of many in his day, concerning Usury, shown to be erroneous. How?

8. Last wills and testaments—a source of wealth among the Romans—Cite the instance.

9. What is said of declaimers upon the incompatibility of wealth and virtue?

ESSAY XX.

CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

MEN's thoughts are much according to their [1] inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds

[1.] *Their deeds, &c.* : Of course, Bacon did not mean his words to be taken literally in their utmost extent; as if natural disposition and instruction had nothing to do with conduct. And, of course, he could not mean any thing so self-contradictory as to say that *all* action is the result of custom; for it is plain that, in the first instance, it must be *by* actions that a custom is formed. But he uses a strong expression, to impress it on our mind that, for practice, custom is the most essential thing, and that it will often overbear both the original disposition, and the precepts which have been learned; that whatever a man may think, you cannot fully depend on his conduct till you know how he has been *accustomed* to act. Bacon, when he says that 'men speak as they have learned,' only points out to us how much easier it is to repeat a lesson correctly, than to bring it into practice when custom is opposed to it. At the present day it is common to use the words 'custom' and 'habit' as synonymous, and often to employ the latter where Bacon would have used the former. But, strictly speaking, they denote respectively the *cause* and the effect. Repeated acts constitute the 'custom;' and the 'habit' is the condition of mind or body thence resulting. For instance, a man who has been *accustomed* to rise at a certain hour, will have acquired the *habit* of waking and being ready to rise as soon as that hour arrives.—*W.*

Men's thoughts, &c. : In Bacon's *Antitheta* we find the same thought tersely expressed :—'Cogitamus secundum naturam; loquimur secundum præcepta, sed agimus secundum consuetudinem.' i. e. 'we think according to nature, speak according to precept, but act according to custom.'

are after as they have been accustomed : and, therefore, as Machiavel well noteth (though in an ill-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate [2] by custom. His instance is, that, for the achiev-

Inclination: There is a proverb of similar import :—'The wish is father to the thought.' *Learning and infused opinions*: Paraphrase. *After as*: according to what. "Deal not with us *after* our sins.'—*Litany*. *Bravery*: Synonyme? *Corroborate*: corroborated. 'His heart is corroborate.'—*Shak*.

[2.] *Machiavel*: Whoever would understand the character and writings of this famous Florentine author and statesman, (born in 1469, died in 1527,) must read the eloquent article of Macauley from the Edinburgh Review of 1827, on Machiavel. He says :—" We doubt whether any name in literary history be so generally odious as that of this man. The terms in which he is commonly described would seem to import that he was the Tempter, the Evil Principle, the discoverer of ambition and revenge, the original inventor of perjury; that, before the publication of his fatal work ('The Prince'), there had never been a hypocrite, a tyrant or a traitor, a simulated virtue, or a convenient crime. Out of his surname our own countrymen have coined an *Épithet* for a knave, and out of his Christian name (Niccolo) a synonyme for the Devil. It is indeed scarcely possible for any person not acquainted with the history and literature of Italy to read, without horror and amazement, this celebrated treatise which has brought so much obloquy on the name of Machiavelli. Such a display of wickedness, naked yet not ashamed, such cool, judicious, scientific atrocity, seem rather to belong to a fiend than to the most depraved of men. Principles which the most hardened ruffian would scarcely hint to his most trusted accomplice, or avow, without the disguise of some palliating sophism, even to his own mind, are professed without the slightest circumlocution, and assumed as the fundamental axioms of all political science."

"After this it may seem ridiculous to say, that we are acquainted with few writings which exhibit so much elevation

ing of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings: but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood: but Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature,

of sentiment, so pure and warm a zeal for the public good, or so just a view of the duties and rights of citizens, as those of Machiavelli. Yet so it is. And even from the *Prince* itself we could select many passages in support of this remark."

"This is strange, and yet the strangest is yet behind. There is no reason whatever to think that those amongst whom he lived saw any thing shocking or incongruous in his writings. Abundant proofs remain of the high estimation in which both his works and his person were held by the most respectable of his contemporaries."

It is important to add (from the new American Cyclopaedia) that the researches of modern Italian scholars, and a better consideration of the political state of Italy in the fifteenth century, have at length established the true object of "The Prince," and vindicated in some measure the name of its author from the opprobrium heaped upon it. The work is a scientific account of the art of acquiring and preserving despotic power, and is a calm, unvarnished, and forcible exposition of the means by which tyranny may be established and sustained. If it be a guide to princes desiring to become despots, it is also, as Machiavelli himself remarked, a guide to the people who wish to destroy tyrants. It weakens despotism, by exposing its most subtle secrets. At the same time it exhibits an obliquity of moral principle on the part of its author, so far as political matters are concerned, which can only be palliated by alleging that dissimulation and treachery were universally looked upon in Italy, and indeed throughout Europe in his day, as legitimate political weapons, whose use was creditable to the acuteness, and not discreditable to the character of those who were able to wield them with skill and success. Crimes which required for their perpetration, self-command, address, quick observation, fertile invention, and profound knowledge of human nature, were regarded with a

nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as [3] custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution is made equipol- [4] lent to custom, even in matter of blood. In other

sort of admiration by nearly all the contemporaries of Machiavelli. See also a note at the end of Essay X.

Friar Clement: a young and ignorant Dominican monk, who murdered Henry III. of France, under the impulse of fanaticism.

Ravillac: the assassin of Henry IV. of France (in 1610), who, according to his own account, was impelled to the act by the seditious sermons and books of the Jesuits, whom Henry, rather out of fear than love, had recalled to France.

Jaureguy: Philip II. of Spain, the bigoted Roman Catholic, having in 1582 set a price upon the head of the Prince of Orange, the leader of the Protestants, Jaureguy, made an attempt to assassinate the Prince, but only wounded him severely.

Baltazar Gerard: Animated by Roman Catholic bigotry, this man, a Burgundian, was more successful and became the assassin, at Delft, of William of Nassau, the Prince of Orange. He is supposed to have been for six years meditating the criminal act.

Nor the, &c.: Bacon's style is here and elsewhere marked by a singular use of negatives, i. e. by the use of the double negative—'nor'—'are not.' Write the sentence correctly from 'that nature' onward. The old writers abound in the double negative, when only one is essential to the meaning.

"Nor to no Roman else."—*Shak.*

"Another sort there be, that will
Be talking of the fairies still,
Nor never can they have their fill."—*Drayton.*

[8.] *So well advanced*: Paraphrase. *As firm*: Synonyme!

Votary resolution: resolution prompted by a vow of devotion to a particular creed or principle.

[4.] *Inasmuch as*: Equivalent? *Would wonder*: should wonder. [Adeo ut miraculi instar sit audire.] *And then* [notwithstanding these professions, &c.] *do, &c.* [Et tamen, istis omnibus posthabitis, pro more consueto agere.]

things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words; and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what [5] it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise [6] men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpse of their husbands. The [7] lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as squeaking. I remember, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's [8]

This 'predominancy of custom' is remarkably exemplified in the case of soldiers who have long been habituated to obey, as if by a mechanical impulse, the word of command. This is also very much the case with any one who has been long drilled in the ranks of a party.—*W.*

[6.] *Their wise men.* [Loquor de Gymnosophistis et veteribus et modernis.] *The Indians:* The East Indians—the Hindoos. The horrid custom referred to is that of Suttee (from a Sanscrit word, signifying *pure*), encouraged by the Brahmins, under the idea that it is exceedingly meritorious in widows to sacrifice themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands. They were also assured that by this self-sacrifice they would ensure a residence in Paradise for thirty-five million years, whereas otherwise they should be altogether excluded. In 1818 the East India Company endeavored to regulate the Suttee by requiring evidence that it was voluntary on the part of the widow—yet, more than seven thousand cases occurred between 1815 and 1826. In 1829 it was abolished in British India.

[7.] *Squeaking:* in the old sense of *breaking silence*. One edition reads *quecking*, another *queching*, meaning to flinch, to stir. Compare *Cic. Tuscul. Dial. 2: 14.*

"Not once he could nor move nor quick."—*Spenser.*

time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in a halter, because it had been so used [9] with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of [10] water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon the mind and body: therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means [11] endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly,

[8.] *Withe*: Synonyme? 'If they bind me with seven green *withes*, then shall I be weak.'—*Judges* 16: 7.

[9.] *Engaged*: Synonyme?

[10.] *Magistrate*: Synonyme? Bacon in his *Antitheta* says, 'Nature is a kind of schoolmaster; custom, a magistrate.'

[11.] *In languages*: Equivalent? *An early custom*: See the two admirable Lectures of Sydney Smith on Habit, in his "Moral Philosophy." [A teneris annis imbibita consuetudo.] Many persons confound together being accustomed to certain objects, and accustomed to a certain mode of acting. Aristotle, on the contrary, justly remarks that opposite habits are formed by means of the same things treated in opposite ways; as, for instance, humanity and inhumanity—by being accustomed to the view of suffering, with and without the effort to relieve it. Of two persons who have been accustomed to the sight of much human misery, one, who has been used to pass it by without any effort to relieve it, will become careless and hardened to such spectacles; while another, who has been in the practice of relieving sufferers, will acquire a strong habit of endeavoring to afford relief. These two persons will both have been accustomed to the same objects, but will have acquired opposite habits, from being accustomed to act in opposite ways. Another instance:—A loud bell is rung very early. At first, and for some time, your rest will be broken by it; but if you accustom yourself to lie still, and try to compose yourself, you will become in a few days so used to it, that it will not even wake

custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years : this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the [12] tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards ; for it is true, the late learners cannot so well take up the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceedingly rare ; but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater ; for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth, so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of [13] virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined ; for commonwealths and good

you. But any one who always immediately rises at the call, will become so *used to it* in the *opposite* way, that the sound will never fail to rouse him from the deepest sleep. Both will have been accustomed to the same bell, but will have formed opposite habits from their contrary modes of action.—*W.*

[12.] *In languages* : in [learning] languages. [In *linguis ediscendis*.]

The ply : the direction, the bent, or turn. Instead of *take up*, some editions read *take*, which seems a preferable reading. 'The czar's mind had taken a strong *ply*, which it retained to the last.'—*Macauley*. *To fix* : Synonyme ?

Copulate, conjoined, collegiate : How do these differ in meaning ? They may be regarded as an example of Tautology. This use of several synonymous words or phrases is allowable when one does not fully express the idea intended, or when particular emphasis is designed, or when strong passion prompts.

Comforteth : strengthens or helps. As in 1 Thess. 5 : 14 :—'*Comfort* the feeble-minded.' *His* : its. 'And to every seed *his* own body.'—1 Cor. 15 : 38.

governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds ; but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

[18.] *Resteth* : Synonyme ? *Virtus grown, &c.* : [Alunt virtutem in herba, sed semina ipsius non multum promovent.]

1. Paraphrase the Essay, presenting every thought in good modern style ; dividing the Essay correctly into paragraphs and sentences.
2. Is Bacon to be taken literally, as teaching that *all* action is the result of custom ? Whately's distinction between *custom* and *habit* ?
3. The character and writings of Machiavelli, as presented by Macanley ? The true object of "The Prince," according to the latest researches ?
4. Who were Friar Clement, Ravillac, Jaureguy, and Baltazar Gerard ?
5. Describe the 'Suttee.'
6. Distinction between being accustomed to certain *objects*, and being accustomed to a certain *mode of acting* ? Illustrate it.

ESSAY XXI.

FORTUNE.

IT cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue; but chiefly the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands: "*Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*," saith the poet; and the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as

[1.] *It cannot be denied but*: The same form of expression is occasionally met with in more recent writers, but it does not accord with the best usage or with reason. When closely examined, it approaches to a contradiction of the idea meant to be conveyed, unless you suppose an implied ellipsis, thus: 'It cannot be denied (but it may be asserted that), outward, &c.' The only change necessary, in correcting such a form of expression, is to alter the *but* to *that*. *Fortune*: success. [*Ad hominum fortunas promovendas vel deprimendas.*]

Occasion, &c.: occasion suited to bring into action certain virtues or peculiarities which lead to success. Compare §§ 2 and 4.

Faber, &c.: 'Every man is the architect of his own fortune.' Sallust, in his letters 'De Republica Ordinanda,' attributes these words to Appius Claudius Cæcus, a Roman poet whose works are now lost. Lord Bacon, in the Latin translation of his Essays, which was made under his supervision, rendered the word 'poet,' 'comicus;' by whom he probably meant Plautus, who has this line in his 'Trinummus' (Act 2: Sc. 2): 'Nam sapiens quidem pol ipsus finget fortunam sibi,' which has the same meaning, though in somewhat different terms.—*D.*

The folly, &c.: Thus in Bacon's *Antitheta*:—'Stultitia unius, fortuna alterius.'

Serpens, &c.: 'A serpent, unless it shall have devoured a serpent, does not become a dragon.'

by others' errors ; "*Serpens nisi serpentem comederit* [2] *non fit draco*." Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise ; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune ; certain deliveries of a man's [3] self, which have no name. The Spanish name, "*disemboltura*," partly expresseth them, when there be not stonds nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune ; for so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, "*In illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturum videretur*,") falleth upon that he had "*versatile ingenium*;" therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune ; for though [4] she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way

[2.] *Apparent* : Synonyme? 'The outward and *apparent* sanctity should flow from purity of heart.'—*Atterbury*.

Deliveries : in the obsolete sense of *modes or acts of exertion*. [Facultates nonnullæ se expediendi.]

[3.] *Disemboltura* : graceful facility, implying readiness to adapt one's self to circumstances. *Stonds* : hindrances, causes for hesitation. 'The removal of the *stonds* and impediments of the mind, that often clears the passage and current to a man's fortune.'—*Bacon's Letter to Temple*.

Restiveness : an indisposition to move. *Keep way with* : or as we say *keep up with*, or *keep pace with*. *In illo, &c.* : 'In that man there was such great strength of body and mind, that in whatever station he had been born, he seemed as though he should make his fortune, or would have made fortune his own.' *Upon that* : Modern usage requires, *upon that, that*. *Versatile ingenium* : 'a versatile genius.'

Blind : So the ancient poets represented the goddess Fortune.

[4.] The simile in this sentence is uncommonly beautiful and original.

Milky : One edition reads *milken*, the older form of the word. 'The remedies are to be proposed from a

of fortune is like the milky way in the sky, which is a meeting, or knot, of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together: so are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate: the Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do [5] amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath "*Poco di matto*;" and, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest: therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate: neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own

constant course of the *Milken* diet.'—*Temple*. The term 'Milky' graphically denotes the appearance of a certain belt of the starry heavens. *Are*: Why not substitute is?

Think: What does present usage require to be added? Bacon in the *Antitheta*, pithily says:—'Fortuna veluti galaxia; hoc est, nodus quarundam obscurarum virtutum sine nomine.' 'Fortune, like the milky way, is a cluster of small, twinkling, nameless virtues.'

[5.] *When they speak, &c.*: This is in accordance with the proverb, 'Fortune favors fools,' because they trust *all* to fortune. When a fool escapes any danger, or succeeds in any undertaking, it is said that *fortune favors* him; while a wise man is considered to prosper by his own prudence and foresight. For instance, if a fool who does not bar his door escapes being robbed, it is ascribed to his luck; but the prudent man having taken precautions, is not called fortunate. But a wise man is in fact more likely to meet with good fortune than a foolish one, because he puts himself in the way of it. One way in which fools succeed where wise men fail, is, that through ignorance of the danger they sometimes go *coolly* about some hazardous business. Hence the proverb that 'the fairies take care of children, drunken men, and idiots.'—*W*.

[6] way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover; the French hath it better; ("*entrepreneur*," or "*remuant*;") but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, an it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards [8] him. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the [9] higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the

In into: Change the clause so as to remove this infelicity.
Poco, &c.: 'A little of the fool.' *Or masters*: Ellipsis
 to be supplied? *His own way*: Paraphrase.

[6.] *Enterpriser*: adventurer, bold operator. *Remover*: one who keeps things in motion. *Exercised*: in distinction from 'hasty,' must mean a fortune gained by long exercise and vigorous exertion. [Fortuna præpropera, magna molientes et nonnihil turbulentos reddit; at fortuna exercita ea est, quæ efficit prudentes et cordatos.]

[7.] *An*: Some editions read *and*. In either case the word stands for *if*. 'Nay *and* I suffer this, I may go craze.'—*Beaumont and Fletcher*. What bold figure is used in this sentence?

[8.] *To decline*: to turn away, to avoid. See note on Timotheus, below. *Use*: Synonyme? *The care*: a condensed expression, involving no obscurity. What words are to be mentally supplied?

[9.] *Cæsarem, &c.*: 'You carry Cæsar and his fortunes.'—*Plut. Vit. Cæs.* 88. *Felix*: 'The Fortunate.' *Magnus*: 'The Great.'—*Plut. Sylla* 84. He ascribed his success to Hercules, a deity whom he especially regarded. *End unfortunate*: Equivalent expressions?

tempest, "*Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus.*" So Sylla chose the name of "*Felix*," and not of "*Magnus*;" and it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end unfortunate. It is written, that Timotheus, the Athe- [10] nian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, "and in this fortune had no part," never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there [11]

[10.] *Timotheus*: the son of Conon. The incident here alluded to is thus fully described by Rollin, Vol. IV, 242: "No captain at first ever experienced less than himself the inconstancy of the fortune of war. He had only to undertake an enterprise, to accomplish it. Success perpetually attended his views and desires. Such uncommon prosperity did not fail to excite jealousy. Those who envied him, caused him to be painted asleep, with Fortune by his side taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coolly, 'If I take places in my sleep, what shall I do when I am awake?' He took the thing afterwards more seriously; and, angry with those who pretended to lessen the glory of his actions, declared in public that he did not owe his success to Fortune, but to himself. That goddess, says Plutarch, offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was never successful afterwards." *Interlaced*: threw in by way of parenthesis.

[11.] *Slide*: fluency, smoothness. [*Quæ majore cum facilitate fluunt.*] The passage in Plutarch reads thus: "As the poetry of Antimachus and the portraits of Dionysius, both of them Colophonians, with all the means and strength one finds in them, appear to be too much labored, and smell too much of the lamp; whereas the painting of Nicomachus, and the verses of Homer, beside their other excellencies and graces, seem to have been struck off with readiness and ease; so, if we compare the exploits of Epaminondas and Agesilaus, performed with infinite pains and difficulty, with those of Timoleon, which, glorious as they were, had a great deal of freedom and ease in

be whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets ;

them, when we consider the case well, we shall conclude the latter not to have been the work of Fortune indeed, but the effects of fortunate virtue."

Plutarch adds however : " He himself, it is true, ascribed all his successes to Fortune; for when he wrote to his friends at Corinth, or addressed the Syracusans, he often said he was highly indebted to that goddess, when she was resolved to save Sicily, for doing it under his name. In his house he built a chapel, and offered sacrifices to *Chance* and dedicated the house itself to *Fortune*."

The translators, in a note, remark that when the ancients ascribed any event to *Fortune*, they did not mean to deny the operation of the Deity in it, but only to exclude all human contrivance and power; and in events ascribed to *Chance*, they might possibly mean to exclude the agency of all rational beings, whether human or divine.

Is much, &c. : Paraphrase.

It falls in with the purport of this Essay, to close the notes upon it with some observations of the Hon. Sir James Stephen, in a Lecture delivered in London in 1858, in which he has been urging the prosecution of a plan for attaining intellectual culture, and solid learning, and is now answering the objection that Nature has not given the indispensable talents, nor Fortune the requisite facilities :—" My own observation of life has taught me that much and frequently as the faults of self-confidence and self-conceit are denounced by our teachers, they are faults far less widely diffused, and far less dangerous in their tendency, than a timid self-distrust, and a craven self-depreciation. Think as meanly as you will of the use you have made of your powers, but of the powers entrusted to you think highly and with profound reverence. Of *Nature* and of *Fortune* as the authors of them I know nothing. These are mere *ideal abstractions*—figures of speech inherited from the old Pagan mythology. But I well know that God has given to every one of us far greater talents than any one of us has employed strenuously and to the uttermost; and far greater opportunities than the best of us has always bravely seized and

as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas : and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

conscientiously improved. If, in virtue of my melancholy advantage over you, of having numbered so many years, I might presume to speak as the monitor of those whom I address, my whole exhortation to them might be comprised in a single word, and that word would be—'*Aspire!*' But I spare you any further counsels of my own, because I can expand and clothe that single word in the language of one of the wittiest, the wisest, and the holiest of the poets of whom England has to boast. In the words of George Herbert, therefore, let me say :—

' Pitch thy behaviour low, thy projects high,
So shalt thou humble and magnanimous be.
Sink not in spirit ; who aimeth at the sky
Shoots higher much than he that means a tree.
A grain of glory, mixed with humbleness,
Cures both a fever and letharginess.' "

1. Write an Analysis.
2. Divide all the long sentences into two or more.
3. Arrange the Essay into suitable Paragraphs.
4. Point out the antiquated words and phrases, and their significations.
5. Repeat the magnanimous saying of Cæsar.
6. Repeat the incident related by Timotheus.
7. Paraphrase the whole Essay in modern style and taste; being careful to present fairly and exactly the sentiments of the author.

ESSAY XXII.

YOUTH AND AGE.

[1] A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time ; but that happeneth [2] rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second ; for there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages ; and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, [3] more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and

[2.] *More divinely* : Bacon, in his *Antiitheta*, says :—‘ The first thoughts and counsels of youth have somewhat divine.’

[3.] *Perturbations* : Synonyme ? *Juventutem*, &c. : ‘ He passed his youth, not only full of errors, but of frantic passions.’

Reposed : Synonyme ? *Cosmus* : or *Cosmo de Medici*, born in 1389. He and his family enjoyed great authority at Florence, the result of silent influence rather than of official appointment. The first offices of the republic for a long time were assumed by the Medici, or given to persons nominated by them, consulting, however, the popular will. The latter part of Cosmo’s life was honorably devoted to the promotion of science, and to the patronage and encouragement of learned men. He assembled at Florence the most celebrated scholars, and established an academy for the exposition of the Platonic philosophy. He made extensive collections of manuscripts in the Latin, Greek, and Oriental languages, as a foundation of the Laurentian library, and encouraged liberally the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture. He retired from public affairs to his farm, where he studied letters and philosophy, attended by the celebrated Ficino. His immense wealth was not an object of envy, because it was chiefly expended upon the public, often loaning money to the citizens and never asking a repayment. A little before his death a public decree was passed,

great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, "*juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus plenam;*" and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list: but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus, Duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age [4] is an excellent composition for business. Young [5] men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but

conferring upon him the title of Father of his Country, and this was justly inscribed upon his tomb.

Gaston de Foix (or *Foix*): He was nephew of Louis XII of France, and a brave commander of the French armies in Italy against the Spaniards. He fell at the battle of Ravenna, in which he was defeated, in 1512. His daring exploits procured him the name of the Thunderbolt of Italy. When news of his death reached the king, he exclaimed, 'I would surrender almost every inch of ground I possess in Italy, to restore to life my nephew and his brave comrades. God preserve us from many such victories!'

[4.] *Composition*: compound, combination; and thus it may signify mental condition, or temperament.

[5.] *Directeth them*: When the use of the pronoun (as often occurs in Bacon's Essays) renders the sense obscure, the noun it was intended to represent should be used in preference, as in the present instance. Substitute the noun. *Abuse it*: leadeth astray, or deceives.

"Nor be with all those tempting words abused."—*Pope*.

[Etenim experientia senum in iis, quæ sub experientia eorum cadunt, eos dirigit; sed in rebus novis eos seducit.]

[6] in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been [7] done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horse that will neither stop nor [8] turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content [9] themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly

[7.] *Manage*: management. 'The *manage* of my state.'—*Shak.* *Embrace, &c.*: Paraphrase. *Absurdly*: Synonymy? *Care not*: are not cautious, or afraid. *And, that, &c.*: Other editions less clearly point it, *and that*; so requiring us to make *that* equivalent to *who*. *Unready*: Synonymy?

[8.] *Period*: Synonymy? Bacon, in his *Antitheta*, writes: 'Senes sibi sapiunt magis, aliis et reipublicæ minus;' 'Old men are wise for themselves, but less for others and the public good.' And again, 'Senes omnia metuunt, præter Deos;' 'Old men fear all things but the gods.'

[9.] *To compound, &c.*: to mix employments of both; or, as we would now write, to use a mixture of both old men and young men in business. This is the Latin form of the clause: 'In negotiis mixturam adhibere et senum et juvenum.'

Either: This word is here used, where *each* would be more grammatical. What is the proper direction for the use of these words? *Correct*: What word would be more appropriate, and why? *For succession*: for the future.

it is good to compound employments of both: for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and lastly, good for external accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth: but for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin upon the text, [10] "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," inferreth that young men are

[Utile etiam futuro.] *Good for external, &c.*: [Accidentia melius compescit, quia senes auctoritate, juvenes gratia et popularitate, pollent.] *For external accidents*: One edition has the olden form of the adjective *externe*, and another has *extern*. What *accidents* (or accompaniments) are here referred to? *The politic*: the political—that which pertains to public or national policy.

"This land was famously enriched
With *politic*, grave counsel."—*Shak.*

The distinction between "the moral part" and "the politic," receives some illustration from a short paragraph in which Bacon refers to the 'Antitheta' going before. He says:—"The example of Antithets here laid down may not, perhaps, deserve the place assigned them; but as they were collected in my youth, and are really seeds, not flowers, I was unwilling they should be lost. In this they plainly show a juvenile warmth, that they abound in the moral and demonstrative kind, but touch sparingly upon the deliberative and judicial."

[10.] *The text, &c.*: Joel 2: 28, quoted also in Acts 2: 17.

Profit: improve, or make proficiency, or progress. 'That thy *profit*ing may appear unto all men.'—1 Tim. 4: 15. 'It is a great means of *profit*ing yourself to copy diligently excellent designs.'—*Dryden*. Bacon in his *Antitheta*, says: 'Si conspici daretur, magis deformat animos, quam corpora, senectus: 'If the mind could be an object of sight, it would be seen that old age deforms it more than the body.'

admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream: and, certainly the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripe-

[11.] *There be some, &c.*: It is remarkable that there is nothing less promising than, in early youth, a certain full-formed, settled, and, as it may be called *adult* character. A lad who has, to a degree that excites wonder and admiration, the character and demeanor of an intelligent man of mature age, will probably be *that*, and nothing more, all his life, and will cease, accordingly, being any thing remarkable, because it was the precocity alone that ever made him so. It is remarked by greyhound fanciers that a well-formed, compact-shaped puppy never makes a fleet dog. They see more promise in the loose-jointed, awkward, clumsy ones. And even so, there is a kind of crudity and unsettledness in the minds of those young persons who turn out ultimately the most eminent.—*W.*

Over-early ripeness: Synonyme? *Betimes*: Synonyme?

Brittle: Synonyme? *Hermogenes*: an orator and sophist of Tarsus, in the second century, and in many respects a prodigy. At fifteen he practiced his oratorical art in the presence of the Emperor, M. Aurelius Antoninus, and astonished him by his eloquence. At seventeen he published a *System of Rhetoric*, and at twenty his work on *Philosophic Ideas*; but at twenty-five he lost his memory, and became incapable of pursuing his profession. Upon the post-mortem examination of his body, at an advanced age, his heart was found to be unusually large, and covered with hair.

Waxed: Synonyme? Paul and Barnabas *waxed* bold.—*Acts* 13: 46.

Have better grace: Paraphrase. [Quibus naturales quædam facultates insunt, quæ magis juventutem decent quam senectutem.]

Idem, &c.: 'He remained the same; but the same was no longer becoming to him.'—*Cic. Brut.* 95.

Tully: Give him more common name.

Hortensius: a distinguished Roman orator (born 114 B. C.), the contemporary and rival of Cicero. At the early age of

ness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned: such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed

nineteen his eloquence was famous in the Roman forum. He afterwards held successively the offices of ædile, prætor, and consul. As an orator, we cannot judge by his orations, for they are lost; but his rival, Cicero, has given (in his Brutus, C. 38) the following very interesting and instructive account of him:—"Nature had given him so happy a memory, that he never had need of committing to writing any discourse which he had meditated, while, after his opponent had finished speaking, he could recall, word by word, not only what the other had said, but also the authorities which had been cited against himself. His industry was indefatigable. He never let a day pass without speaking in the forum, or preparing himself to appear on the morrow; oftentimes he did both. He excelled particularly in the art of dividing his subject, and in then reuniting it in a luminous manner, calling in at the same time even some of the arguments which had been urged against him. His diction was noble, eloquent and rich; his voice strong and pleasing; his gestures carefully studied." Anthon proceeds to say what particularly illustrates the sentiment of the Essay: "The eloquence of Hortensius would seem, in fact, to have been of that showy species called Asiatic, being full of brilliant thoughts and of sparkling expressions. This glowing style of rhetoric, though deficient in solidity and weight, was not unsuitable in a young man; and, being further recommended by a beautiful cadence of periods, met with the utmost applause. But Hortensius, as he advanced in life, did not correct this exuberance, nor adopt a chaster eloquence; and this luxury and glitter of phraseology, which, even in his earliest years, had occasionally excited ridicule or disgust among the graver fathers of the senatorial order, being totally inconsistent with his advanced age and consular dignity, which required something more serious and composed, his reputation in consequence diminished with increase of years."

Have better grace in youth, &c.: It is remarkable, that in point of style in writing, Bacon himself, at different periods of

stupid; a second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions, which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxurious speech; which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, "*Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*:" the third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can

life, showed differences just opposite to what most would have expected. His earlier writings are the most unornamented; and he grew more ornate as he advanced. So also Burke. His earliest work, 'On the Sublime,' is in a brief, dry, philosophical style; and he became florid to an excess as he grew older.—*W*.

—*Take too high a strain, &c.*: Paraphrase. *Magnanimous*: lofty, daring, aspiring. *Tract*: (from the Latin word 'trahere,' to draw out,) course, process. [Qui sub initiis nimium efferuntur; et magnanimitate præditi sunt, supra quam ætas provecior ferre valeat.]

"My fancies all are fled,
And tract of time begins to weave
Grey hairs upon my head."—*Lord Vaux*.

The above quotation is supposed to be the original of Shakespeare's grave-digger's song in *Hamlet*.

Ultima, &c.: 'The last fell short of the first,' or 'The close was unequal to the beginning.' This quotation is not correct. The words are, 'Memorabilior prima pars vitæ quam postrema fuit;' 'The first part of his life was more distinguished than the latter.'—*D. Livy* 38: ch. 53.

In the passage from which the above short extract is taken, Livy thus writes:—"He (i. e. *Publius Scipio Africanus*) was a man of eminent merit; but that merit was more conspicuous in affairs of war, than in those of peace. The former part of his life was more illustrious than the latter; because, in his early years he was continually employed in military commands. As he advanced to old age the lustre of his conduct was somewhat faded, as occasions did not occur to call forth the exercise of his talents. His second consulship, even if we add to it the

uphold; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, "*Ultima primis cedebant*."

censorship, was far from being equally brilliant with the first. However, he enjoyed alone the distinguished honor of putting an end to the Carthaginian war, by far the most difficult and dangerous one which the Roman state was ever engaged in."

1. Write an Analysis.
2. Divide into Paragraphs. Revise the division into sentences.
3. Repeat from memory any weighty thought contained in the Essay.
4. Note the obsolete or antiquated words and forms of expression.
5. How did Julius Caesar and Septimius Severus differ from Augustus Caesar, Cosmo, and Gaston de Foix? Give an account of the latter two.
6. Name the instance given of singular and short-lived precocity of genius.
7. Name certain qualities of oratory that befit youth rather than age, and give the example, and some of the particulars.
8. What was remarkable in Scipio Africanus?
9. Point out obsolete words or phrases, or words (if any) that have changed their meaning since the Essay was written.
10. Paraphrase the Essay in a neat and ornate style.

ESSAY XXIII.

STUDIES.

[1] **STUDIES** serve for delight, for ornament, and [2] for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business; for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one: but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best [3] from those that are learned. To spend too much

[1.] **STUDIES**: In the earliest edition of the Essays, this stood first in order. *Studies serve, &c.*: In the Latin, 'Studies and the reading of books serve, &c.' The title of the Essay in Latin, is *De Studiis et Lectione Librorum*.

[2.] *In privateness*: seclusion from company. *Retiring*: Synonyme? [In *secessu et otio imprimis percipitur*.]

In discourse: The Latin is more full:—'In sermone tam familiari quam solenni.' *And for ability, &c.*: Here the Latin is more clear and satisfactory:—'Quatenus vero ad negotiorum subsidium, huc spectat, ut accuratiore judicio res et suscipiantur et disponantur.' *General counsels*: counsels concerning large interests. [*Consilia de summis rerum*.]

Give synonymes for 'disposition of business,' 'expert,' 'plots,' 'marshalling of affairs.'

[3.] *Is sloth*: is a certain sort of specious indolence and inactivity. [*Speciosa quædam socordia est*.] *Affectation*: Synonyme? *To make judgment*: to judge of matters by their rules savors of the school, and does not succeed well. [*De rebus autem ex regulis artis judicare scholam omnino sapit, nec bene succedit*.] *Humor*: Synonyme?

Natural plants: those that come up without sowing or planting. As natural plants do not 'need pruning by study,' alter

time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar; they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men condemn studies, simple men [4]

the sentence to obviate this fault in its construction. The Latin is free from it:—*'Dotes enim naturales instar plantarum sunt sponte provenientum, quæ culturam et falcem artis desiderant.'*

[4.] *Crafty men condemn studies*: The contempt of studies often finds its expression in the word 'smattering;' and the couplet is become almost a proverb:

"A little learning is a dangerous thing,
Drink deep, or taste not the Piesian spring."

But the poet's remedies for the dangers of a little learning are both of them impossible. None can 'drink deep' enough to be, in truth, any thing but superficial; and every human being, that is not a downright idiot, must *taste*. It is plainly impossible that any man should acquire a knowledge of all that is to be known on *all* subjects. But is it then meant that, on each particular subject on which he does learn any thing at all, he should be perfectly well informed? [Or, on the other hand] would any one sincerely advise that those who are not proficient in astronomy should remain ignorant whether the earth moves or the sun? The truth is every body ought to have a slight and superficial knowledge—a 'smattering,' if you will—of more subjects than it is possible to acquire thoroughly. What, then, is the 'smattering'—the imperfect and superficial knowledge—that really does deserve contempt? A slight and superficial knowledge is justly condemned, when it is put in the place of more full and exact knowledge. Now, as no one can learn all things perfectly, it seems best for a man to make some pursuit his main object, according to his *calling*—to his *natural bent*—or to his *opportunities*; then let him get a slight

admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, [5] and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and refute, nor to believe and take for

knowledge of what else is worth it, regulated in his choice by the same three circumstances.—*W.*

Crafty men: not in the ordinary sense of 'cunning,' but men of craft, of manual occupations, of mechanical or other business. *Simple*: Synonyme? *Simple men admire them*: An amusing and apt illustration of the idea, is found in the picture which Goldsmith draws of the Village Schoolmaster:—

"Yet he was kind, or, if severe in aught,
The love he bore to learning was in fault.
The village all declared how much he knew;
'Twas certain he could write, and cipher too;
Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage,
And e'en the story ran that he could gauge;
In arguing, too, the parson owned his skill,
For e'en though vanquished he could argue still;
While words of learned length and thundering sound
Amaz'd the gazing rustics rang'd around;
And still they gaz'd, and still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew."

—*Deserted Village.*

[5.] *Read not, &c.*: It would have been well if Bacon had added some hints as to the *mode* of study: *how* books are to be chewed, and swallowed, and digested. For, besides inattentive readers, who measure their proficiency by the pages they have gone over, it is quite possible to read most laboriously, even so as to get by heart the words of a book, without really *studying* it at all: that is, without employing the *thoughts* on the *subject*. There is [however] one mode of exercising the thoughts that is very hurtful; which is, that of substituting conjectures for attention to what the author says. *After* you have studied an author, reflect on what he says, and consider whether he is right, and how far; but while *actually engaged* in perusal, attend to what the writer actually says, and endeavor fairly to arrive at *his* meaning, *before* you proceed to speculate upon it for yourself. We should be ever on our guard against the tendency to read through colored spectacles.—*W.*

granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others [6]

[6.] *Some books are to be tasted:* For various reasons it will often be necessary to 'taste' some books which will be, to the most discerning palates, very nauseous, or very insipid. For, if you know only what is said, and done, and written, and read, and approved by the wise and the high-minded, you will remain unacquainted with a portion,—and that, alas, the largest portion—of mankind. The prevailing prejudices and weaknesses of each age and country, and class of men, and the peculiar kind of sophistry by which each are most liable to be misled, must be understood by any one who would have a correct acquaintance with that age, &c. And, again, some very valuable books can be but imperfectly understood without a knowledge of those they were designed to refute.—*W.*

Curiously: (from *cura*, care) with care, with close attention. 'But observing it more *curiously* I saw within it several spots.'
—*Sir Isaac Newton.* *Wholly:* Synonyme?

With diligence und attention: It is important (says Prof. Henry Reed) to form 'this among our other habits of reading—to have an eye and a feeling for the fitness of the words, their power, their beauty, their simplicity, and truthfulness; to find ourselves, in reading a wise and good book, often pausing, in silent thankfulness and delight, as we think and feel what glorious apparel the author's wise thought or good feeling hath arrayed itself in—with what majesty or loveliness of speech or song the mind makes music for itself in the words in which it is embodied. So that the thought and the words receive strength and beauty from each other. Of that connection which exists between our thoughts and feelings, and the words we clothe them in, of their mutual relation and reaction, I cannot now speak further than to say, that the more we reflect on our own inner nature, and on the wondrous power of words, the better we shall feel and understand that relation, perceiving how words seem to dwell midway between the corporeal and incorporeal—a connection between our spiritual and material being. . . . Speech, even more than reason, distinguishes man from the brute; and the two powers, in their mysterious union, lift him out of barbarism.'—*Eng. Lit.* Lect. III, pp. 87, 88.

to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. [7] Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common

[7.] *Read by deputy*: Paraphrase. *Would*: Should.
 'As for percolation, trial *would* be made by clarifying.'—*Bacon's Nat. Hist.* *Arguments*: subjects. *Else, &c.*:

In other cases, distilled books (so to speak), like distilled waters, which are commonly sold, will be entirely insipid (flashy things). [Alias enim (ut sic dicam) distillati, instar aquarum distillatarum, quas vulgo mercantur, erunt penitus insipidi.] They are deprived of their spirit and vitality. There are certain works which must be read in their totality, in their precise language, to give us a full idea of their excellence. To change the form and phraseology, is to destroy their piquancy and force. What just idea should we have of *Paradise Lost*, or of some of the finest passages of Shakespeare, in an abridged form?

Mr. Henry Rogers, in one of his articles for the *Edinburgh Review* [1849], has written a valuable paragraph, which fairly illustrates what seems to be the idea of our author in regard to *distilled books*, though no reference is made to Bacon:—"Considering the vastness of the accumulations of literature, and the impossibility of mastering them, it is not wonderful that the idea should sometimes have suggested itself, that it might be possible in a series of brief publications to distil, as it were, the quintessence of books, and condense folios into pamphlets. 'Were all books thus reduced,' says Addison, 'many a bulky author would make his appearance in a penny paper. There would scarce be such a thing in nature as a folio; the works of an age would be contained on a few shelves—not to mention millions of volumes that would be utterly annihilated.' One such attempt we remember being made with considerable pretensions; but it was as futile as every such attempt must be.

distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh [8] a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man; and therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth

Without going the length of Montaigne, who says that 'every abridgment of a book is a foolish abridgment,' it may be truly said, not only that the human mind cannot profitably digest intellectual food in such a condensed shape, but that every work really worth reading bears upon it the impress of the mind that gave it birth, and ceases to attract and to impress when reduced to a syllabus; its faults and its excellencies alike vanish in the process. It is of much importance, however, if authors who cannot be thus mutilated desire to live, that they should study brevity. Our voluminous forefathers of the seventeenth century seem never to have attempted condensation [this is not true of Bacon's *Essays*]; but to have committed all that they thought to writing, and for the most part in all the redundancy of the forms first suggested. They acted as though we, their posterity, should have nothing to do but to sit down and read what they had written. They were much mistaken; and the consequence is, that their folios, for the most part, remain unread."

[8.] *Conference*: Synonyme? *A present wit*: knowledge at command. *Cunning*: Synonyme? *That*: what.

This whole sentence is remarkably terse, and on this account valuable, yet the Latin form is so much more complete and beautiful, that it must not be withheld:—'*Lectio copiosum reddit, et bene instructum; disputationes et colloquia promptum et facilem; scriptio autem et notarum collectio perlecta in animo imprimit et altius figit.*'

Writing, an exact man: Whately remarks that the writing of an analysis, table of contents, index, or notes to any book, is very important for the study, properly so called, of any subject. And so, also, is the practice of *previously* conversing or writing on the subject you are about to study. It may be suggested to the teacher, to put before his pupils, *previously* to

[9] not. Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; rhetoric and logic, able to contend; "*Abeunt studia in mores*;" nay, there is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like: so, if a man's wits be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in

their reading each lesson, some questions pertaining to the matter of it, requiring of them answers, oral or written, the best they can think of *without* consulting the book. Next, let them read the lesson, having other questions, such as may lead to any needful explanations, put before them as they proceed. And afterwards let them be examined (introducing numerous examples framed by themselves, and by the teacher) as to the portion they have learned, in order to judge how far they remember it. One very useful precept for students, is never to *remain long* puzzling at any difficulty; but to lay the book and the subject aside, and return to it some hours after, or next day. The same may be said of the effort to recollect some *name*. Always trust, for the overcoming of a difficulty, not to *long-continued* study, after you have once got bewildered, but to *repeated* trials at intervals.

[9.] *Witty*: brilliant. Give the synonymes of the other adjectives in the first part of this sentence. *Abeunt, &c.*:

'Studies become habits,' or 'manners are influenced by studies.'

Stond: hindrance.

Wit: mind.

Wits: mental

faculties.

Wrought out: removed.

May have, &c.:

may have certain exercises applied which are suited to alleviate it. *The schoolmen*: These are noticed in Essay VIII.

Cymini sectores: Splitters of cummin seeds. The modern phrase is, 'splitters of hairs,' or 'of straws.' The witty Butler says of Hudibras:—

"He could distinguish and divide

A hair 'twixt south and south-west side."

demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are "*Cymini sectores*;" if he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases: so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

To beat over matters: The meaning seems to be, to investigate, search for matters. *Receipt*: Synonyme?

Apt: [*fit*, § 8:] "In describing the English language as a composite language, we get, perhaps, a wrong notion of its being made up by the union of two dialects, the Saxon and the Norman. The truth rather seems to be, that the Anglo-Saxon language has displayed the same powers of acquisition as have distinguished the race, and has thus enlarged the domain by conquest, and appropriation, and annexation, retaining, however, withal, its essentially Teutonic character. Its early acquisitions from abroad were words of French or Southern birth, which became part of the natural spoken language, the copiousness and power of which were thus admirably increased. A single specimen will show that this is a copiousness giving not merely duplicate words, but distinct expressions for delicate shades of meaning. The words '*apt*' and '*fit*' might be thought to differ only in this, that the former is of Latin derivation; but '*apt*' has an active sense, and '*fit*' a passive sense—a distinction clearly shown by Shakespeare, when the poisoner in the play in Hamlet says, '*hands apt, drugs fit*,' and by Wordsworth:—

'Our hearts more *apt* to sympathize
With heaven, our souls more *fit* for future glory.'

While the early additions to the language were fairly absorbed into it, and have proved so valuable, the later introductions of words of Latin or French formation have never, in like manner, become natural and national; and their presence has, therefore, been often injurious as an element not divested of its foreign tone."—*Eng. Lit.*, Lect. III, pp. 105-6.

1. Write an Analysis of the Essay.
2. Make a new division of those sentences that are too long.
3. Divide the Essay into suitable paragraphs.
4. Point out elegant sentences.
5. Also pithy ones, and repeat them from memory.
6. Distinguish those which are figurative.
7. Those also in which there is a nice discrimination in the shades of thought expressed.
8. Point out words and phrases now obsolete; or words (if any) that have undergone a change of meaning since Bacon wrote.
9. Strictures on the couplet, "A little learning, &c.?" What is the "smattering" that deserves contempt? As no one can learn all things perfectly, what course is it best to pursue? Whately's observations upon the best method of reading?
10. What kind of books may it be advantageous to 'taste,' that are nauseous or insipid? What does Henry Rogers say concerning "distilled books?"
11. Observations of Prof. Reed, in respect to the *language* of an author?
12. Directions for becoming 'an exact man,' and for pursuing study to advantage?
13. What is said of the composite character of our language? How has the language been enlarged? Examples of two words expressing delicate shades of meaning? Paraphrase the whole Essay, in good taste, and with perspicuity.

ESSAY XXIV.

PRAISE.

PRAISE is the reflection of virtue, but it is as [1] the glass, or body, which giveth the reflection; if it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admira-

[1.] *Naught*: worthless. *The common people understand not, &c.*: What a pregnant remark is this! By the lowest of the virtues he means probably such as hospitality, liberality, gratitude, good-humored courtesy, and the like; and these, he says, the common run of mankind are accustomed to *praise*. Those which they *admire*, such as daring courage, and fidelity to friends, or to the cause or party one has espoused, are what he ranks in the next highest place. But the most elevated virtues of all, such as disinterested and devoted public spirit, thorough-going, even-handed justice, and disregard of unpopularity when duty requires, of those he says the vulgar have usually no notice. And he might have gone further; for it often happens that a large portion of mankind not only do not praise or admire the highest qualities, but even censure and despise them. Cases may occur in which, though you may obtain the high approbation of a very few persons of the most refined and exalted moral sentiments, you must be prepared to find the majority (even of such as are not altogether bad men) condemning you as unnatural, unkind, faithless, and not to be depended on; or deriding you as eccentric, crotchety, fanciful, or absurdly scrupulous.—W.

Perceiving: perception. *Species, &c.*: 'Appearances resembling virtues.' *Serve best, &c.*: affect them most sensibly. [Illos afficiunt maxime.]

tion; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all; but shows and "*species virtutibus* [2] *similes*," serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things that are weighty and solid; but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith) "*Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*:" it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more [3] durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it [4] in suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him the most: but if he be an impudent flat-

[2.] *Concur*: i. e. with the common people. *Nomen, &c.*: 'A good name is like fragrant ointment.'—Eccles. 7: 1.

Away: pass away.

"I have a pain upon my forehead here,
Why that's with watching; 'twill away again."—*Shak.*

[3.] *Points*: Synonyme? [Conditiones.] *Suspect*: suspicion.

So many false points of praise: That censure and commendation should in so many instances be indiscriminate, can surprise no one who recollects how rare a quality discrimination is, and how much better it suits indolence, as well as ignorance, to lay down a rule, than to ascertain the exceptions to it.—*W.*

[4.] *Of*: from. *Will have*: will have at command, will use.

Common attributes: attributes which he applies indiscriminately—general commendations. *Out of countenance*: abashed.

Spreta, &c.: 'Disregarding [his own] conscience.' *Perforce*: Synonyme?

terer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce, "*aperta conscientia*." Some praises come of good [5] wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, "*laudando præcipere*;" when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be: some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; "*pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*;" inasmuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that "he that was praised to his hurt should have a push rise upon his nose;" as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie: certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is

[5.] *Some praises come of good wishes and respects* [feelings of respect]: Of these none have such influence as the daily droppings of domestic flattery—to use the word flattery in the sense of undue praise merely. It has been observed, however, that 'no one is a hero to his valet.' This may be sometimes from the incapacity of the vulgar for appreciating the highest qualities. The valet has opportunities of knowing that his master needs to eat, drink, and sleep, &c., like other mortals; and perhaps he has seen him subject to sickness and other human infirmities. Cæsar is represented by Shakespeare as disparaged by those who remembered him 'shaking in an ague,' and calling out 'give me some drink, Titinius,' like a sick girl. Perhaps too the valet has found his own superiority in some of the minor details of every day life. And of the higher qualifications of the hero, he may have perhaps ['*sensus nullus*'] no perception. With some minds, again, mere familiarity produces its proverbial effect. The highest intellectual and moral qualities may cease to excite any great admiration in one who has become so thoroughly used to them as to look for their manifestations as a matter of course; while any imperfection, on the other hand, strikes him by its contrast. even as 'the smallest speck is seen on snow.'—W.

[6] that which doth the good. Solomon saith, "He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be [7] to him no better than a curse." Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, [8] and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with [9] good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business, for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*, which is under-sheriffries, as

Laudando &c. : 'To instruct under the form of praise.'

Pessimum, &c. : 'The worst kind of enemies are those who praise [or flatter.] *As it* : That it. *A push* : a pimple filled with 'pus,' or foul matter. This word is said to be still used in eastern England. *Opportunity* : in the obsolete sense of fitness. *Vulgar* : offensive to good taste, or refined sensibilities.

Certainly moderate praise, &c. : It is worth remarking that praise is one of the things which almost every one must *wish* for, and be glad of, yet which it is not allowable to *seek* for as an end. There is a distinction between the love of admiration and the love of commendation, that is worth remarking. The tendency of the love of commendation is chiefly to make a man *exert* himself; of the love of admiration, to make him *puff* himself. The love of admiration leads to fraud, much more than the love of commendation; but, on the other hand, the latter is much more likely to spoil our good actions by the substitution of an inferior motive. It is further to be observed, that the praise of men is not the test of our praise-worthiness; nor is their censure; but either should set us upon *testing* ourselves. And, again, in some cases, censure is equivalent to high praise.—*W.*

[6.] *He that, &c.* : In our common version :—'He that bleaseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him.'—*Prov.* 27 : 14.

if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, [10] when he boasts of himself, doth oft interlace, "I speak like a fool;" but speaking of his calling, he saith, "*magnificabo apostolatum meum.*"

[9.] Which : Synonyme? *Theologues : theologians.* 'A *theologue* more by need than genial bent.'—*Dryden.*

Civil business : Equivalent? *Catchpoles*, or *catchpolls* : (from *catch* and *poll*, the head :) an obsolete and opprobrious word for bailiff's assistant.

[10.] *Interlace* : Synonyme? *I speak, &c.* : 2 Cor. 11 : 23.

Magnifico, &c. : 'I will magnify my apostleship.' Compare *Rom.* 11 : 13—'Inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I *magnify* mine office.'

1. Write an Analysis of the Essay.

2. Point out the figures of speech.

3. Divide the long sentences into shorter and the Essay into suitable Paragraphs.

4. Name the virtues which the common people are accustomed to *praise*; again those which they *admire*; again, those higher virtues of which, usually, they have *no just notion*, or on account of which they would condemn you.

5. Why are indiscriminate censure and praise often practiced?

6. Observations on domestic flattery, and on the sentiment, "No one is a hero to his valet?"

7. Distinction between wishing for, and yet not seeking praise? Also, between the love of admiration and the love of commendation?

8. Point out antiquated words, or those (if any) whose meaning has changed since the author wrote.

9. Paraphrase the whole Essay in a clear and forcible manner.

ESSAY XXV.

ANGER.

[1] To SEEK to extinguish anger utterly is but a
[2] bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles ;
“ Be angry but sin not : let not the sun go down upon
[3] your anger.” Anger must be limited and con-
[4] fined, both in race and in time. We will first

[1.] Aristotle in his Rhetoric (Bk. 2, Ch. 2), thus distinguishes between Anger and Hatred :—Anger arises out of something having a personal reference to ourselves ; whereas Hatred is independent of such considerations, since it is borne toward a person, merely on account of the believing him to be of a certain description of character. In the next place, anger is accompanied by pain ; hatred is not so. Again, anger would be satisfied to inflict some pain on its object, but hatred desires nothing short of deadly harm. The angry man desires that the pain he inflicts should be *known* to come from him ; but hatred cares not for this. Again, the feeling of anger is softened by time, but hatred is incurable. Once more, the angry man might be induced to pity the object of his anger, if many misfortunes befell him ; but he who feels hatred cannot be thus moved to pity, for he desires the destruction of the object of his hatred.—*W.*

Bravery : boast, bravado. ‘ One Tait came forth in a *bravery*, asking if any had courage to break a lance for his mistress.’—*Spottiswode.* *Stoics* : See note Essay II, 13. *Oracles* : Synonyme ?

[2.] *Be angry, &c.* : Rendered in our common version—“ Be ye angry and sin not ; let not the sun go down upon your wrath.”—*Eph.* 4 : 26.

[3.] *In race and in time* : Paraphrase. [Quousque et quamdiu.]

speak how the natural inclination and habit, "to be angry," may be attempted and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life; and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, "That anger is like rain, which breaks itself upon that it falls." The Scripture

[4.] *Attempted*: attacked. [Temperari possit, et leniri.] Other editions read *attempered*: i. e. tempered, or softened.

"Those smiling eyes, *attempering* every ray."—*Pope*.

Refrained: restrained.

"I *refrain* my lips,
I *refrain* my soul, and keep it low."

[6.] *Seneca*: *Sen. De Ira* 1: 1.

[7.] *The Scripture*: *Luke* 21: 19.

A man of a violent and revengeful temper will sometimes exercise great control from motives of prudence, when he sees that he could not vent his resentment without danger and loss to himself. Such self-restraint as this does not at all tend to subdue or soften his fierce and malignant passions, and to make him a mild and placable character. It only keeps the fire smouldering within, instead of bursting out into a flame. He is not quelling the desire of revenge, but only repressing it till he shall have an opportunity of indulging it more safely and effectually. And, accordingly, he will have to exercise the same painful self-restraint again and again on every fresh occasion. But to exert an equal self-restraint, on a good principle, with a sincere and earnest desire to subdue revengeful feelings, and to form a mild and generous, and forgiving temper,—this will produce quite a different result. A man who acts thus on a right motive, will find his task easier and easier, on each occasion; because he will become less sensitive

exhorteth us "to possess our souls in patience;" who-soever is out of patience, is out of possession of his [8] soul. Men must not turn bees;

— *animasque in vulnere ponunt.*"

[9] Anger is certainly a kind of baseness: as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns, [10] children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men

to provocations, and will have been forming a habit of not merely avoiding any outward expression of anger in words, or acts, but also of indulging no resentful feelings within.—*W.*

[8.] *Animasque, &c.*: 'And leave their lives in the wound.'—*Virg. Georg. 4: 238.* Virgil is describing the process for killing bees, during which, he says, 'they are wrathful beyond measure, and when provoked, breathe venom into their stings, and leave their hidden darts fixed in the veins, and lay down their lives in the wound.'

[9.] *Baseness*: Synonyme? [*Res humilis est, et infra dignitatem hominis.*] *Well*: clearly.

[10.] *Beware*: Synonyme? *With fear*: [of those towards whom their anger is directed.] *Give law, &c.*: Paraphrase.

It is to be observed that generous forgiveness of injuries is a point of Christian duty respecting which some people fall into confusion of thought. They confound together personal *resentment* and *disapprobation* of what is morally wrong. A man who has cheated you, or otherwise wronged you, is neither more nor less a cheat, than if he had done the same to a stranger. And in that light he ought to be viewed. Such a person is one on whom you should not indeed inflict any suffering beyond what may be necessary to reform him, and to deter other wrong doers; and you should seek to benefit him in the highest degree by bringing him to a sense of his sin. But you ought not to choose such a man as an associate, or to trust him, and in all respects treat him as if he had done nothing wrong. You should therefore take care, on the one hand, that the personal injury you have suffered does not lead you to

must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives [11] of anger are chiefly three: first to be too sensible of hurt, for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt;

think worse of a man than he deserves, or to treat him worse; and, on the other hand, you should not allow a false generosity to destroy in your mind the distinctions between right and wrong. The duty of Christian forgiveness does not require you, nor are you allowed, to look on injustice, or any other fault, with indifference, as if it were nothing wrong at all, merely because it is you that have been wronged.—*W.*

[11.] *Of:* Present usage? *Have little, &c.:* Paraphrase. *An edge, &c.:* Explain the metaphor.

Touch, &c.: Censure. 'I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret.'—*King Charles.* *Telam, &c.:* 'A thicker web (or covering) for his honor.' *Gonsalvo:* a most heroic and successful commander of Spanish troops against the Moors, French, and Turks. His magnificent victories raised up envious adversaries through whose influence he was brought into retirement. He died at Granada in 1515. He was popularly called the Prince of Cavaliers, and the Great Captain. Ferdinand became jealous of his immense popularity, and military prowess, and recalled him from a meditated enterprise, which caused great dissatisfaction among his admiring troops. Gonsalvo generously reimbursed them for the expense they had incurred by distributing among them from his own estate the enormous sum of one hundred thousand ducats. "Never stint your hand," said he to his steward, "there is no mode of enjoying one's property like giving it away." His death caused universal sorrow in Spain. The king and court went into mourning. Funeral services in his honor were celebrated in the principal churches of the kingdom. A splendid mausoleum in Granada received his remains, and over them waved a hundred banners until the latter part of the seventeenth century.

and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt; for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much, or more, than the hurt itself; and therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much; lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Gonsalvo was [12] wont to say, "*telam honoris crassiozem.*" But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win

[12.] *Refrainings of anger*: Synonyme? [Frænationibus.]

Mr. Henry Rogers, the able English writer, in his 'Greyson Letters,' writes excellently on the 'Sedatives of Anger,' as will appear from the following extract:—"Any body may be overtaken with sudden anger, and when frankly acknowledged and repented of it is easily forgiven; nay, I have known some choleric persons so sweetly and ingenuously own their fault, that one can hardly regret that it has been committed. But at all events the temptation is sometimes so swift and sudden—it is so difficult to intercept it by putting the soul into a posture of defence—that one may easily be betrayed into a transient emotion of anger. Many are the prescribed *prophylactics*, but I know none that is infallibly effectual. Some say, 'when inclined to be angry bite your thumb or your tongue till the blood comes; that will operate a diversion, and give you something to think about.' Very likely—but whether it will tend to calm our passion may well be doubted. Others say—'Count a million or two, and by the time you get to the end, you will be quite cool.' Very true, but the most of it is, the mind must be cool before it can think of any such remedy."

"But continued resentment has no such excuse. It is a sin of deliberation, and is persisted in by willfully nursing and petting it."

time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take [18] hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution; the one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper; for "*communia maledicta*" are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society; the other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger; but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act any thing that is not revocable.

"Do you remember that eminently beautiful passage in Paley's 'Moral Philosophy,'—one of the few in which he becomes genial and almost eloquent,—in which he sets down the reflections proper for appeasing anger, and which he calls its *sedatives*? They are all well-imagined, and many of them very touching, and can scarcely ever be revolved by a mind in the condition described, without tranquilizing it. But the *real* difficulty is to get the mind into the posture of pondering them; if that be done, the mind will already be comparatively calm. If Paley had been more of a metaphysician, he would have added to his other *sedatives* of anger the salutary effect of the very attempt to apply these 'sedatives;' for the moment we begin to reflect upon and analyze our emotion, the emotion is gone."—Pp. 375, 376.

[18.] *Contain*: restrain.

"Fear not, my lord, we can *contain* ourselves."—*Shak.*

Aculeate and proper: pointed, stinging, and appropriate to the person attacked.

"In Athens all was pleasure, mirth, and play,
All *proper* to the Spring, and sprightly May."—*Dryden.*

Communia maledicta: general reproaches. *Nothing so much*: Paraphrase. *Howsoever*: What word now takes its place? *Act*: Synonyme?

[14] For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times when men are forwardest and worst disposed to incense them; again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries; the former, to take good times when first to relate to a man an angry business, for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

[14.] *It is done*: Here the author fails to discriminate between the first and the second of these processes, thus causing obscurity. Change the sentence so as to make the thought plain. The Latin is free from this blemish: 'Quantum ad excitandum aut sedendam iram in aliis; fit hoc maxime per temporum electionem prudentem. Cum subtristes homines sunt, aut aliquantulum morosi, tempus est iram incendendi. Deinde, ut antea diximus, decerpando et inculcando quicquid contemptum arguere aut aggravare possit.' *Forwardest*: Synonyme? *Them*: To which party does this refer?

Contraries: Paraphrase. *An angry business*: Paraphrase. *Is much*: Paraphrase.

An old Spanish writer has truly and pithily remarked:—
'To return evil for good is devilish; to return good for good is human; but to return good for evil is godlike.'

1. Point out the antiquated words and phrases.
2. Aristotle's distinction between Anger and Hatred?
3. Whately's observations on the control of Anger by motives of prudence only, as contrasted with the control of anger on a better principle?
4. Personal resentment improperly confounded with disapprobation of what is morally wrong? Illustrate this point. What Christian forgiveness does not require.
5. The account given of Gonsalvo?
6. Repeat the pithy remark of an old Spanish writer.
7. Paraphrase the whole Essay, according to modern style.

ESSAY XXVI.

VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

SOLOMON saith, "There is no new thing upon [1] the earth;" so that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance, so Solomon giveth

[1.] *Saith, &c.*: Eccles. 1: 9, 10. The whole passage reads thus: "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be, and that which is done is that which shall be done, and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It hath been already of old time, which was before us."

"It is very obvious," writes Dr. Wardlaw on the passage, "that this language must be interpreted generally. It cannot be understood as affirming, without qualification or exception, that amongst all the endlessly diversified modifications of things and of events,—all the discoveries and inventions of science and of art, and all the changes in the history of human life, there is absolutely nothing new; nothing that hath not been already of old time. But there is a vast deal of what passes for new, that is really old. Every man must be sensible, that even his own extending information has very often, in this respect, corrected his earlier views; and that many things which in his ignorance he fancied to be new, his growing acquaintance with the knowledge of former times has shown him to possess claims even to high antiquity. Now that which takes place in the experience of individuals, may also hold true with regard to the successive generations of mankind. Our ignorance of former times is accordingly appealed to in verse 11th: 'There is no remembrance of former things; neither, &c.' How extremely limited and uncertain is our acquaintance with the ages of the world preceding our own! The constitution and phenomena of nature have been all along the same; the powers and passions of men, and the genera, and species, and varieties of character, arising from their diversified combinations, have been much the same; their wants and desires, together with the means

his sentence, "That all novelty is but oblivion;" whereby you may see, that the river of Lethe runneth as

existing in air, earth, and sea, for their supply and gratification, have been the same; and it seems natural to expect, that similar circumstances should give birth to similar results. There are, accordingly, many remarkable vestiges, not of the existence merely, but of the high cultivation of various arts and sciences, which at first view might appear modern, in nations and periods of remote antiquity; so that, in such cases, the men of recent days have only the credit of reviving what had been forgotten. And so strong, indeed, on some minds, is the impression produced, by ancient remains, in favor of ancient times, that they have looked upon the present race as mere children and pigmies in knowledge and in the power of applying it to practical use, compared with their brethren of an earlier age. There is *nothing*, of which, in these circumstances, we can, with *certainly*, affirm, 'This is new.' There are, in particular (for this is the main subject of the book of Ecclesiastes), no new sources of worldly happiness."

As Plato, &c.: Phædo 1: 72. Bacon, in the Dedication of his "Advancement of Learning," to King James, introduces the same passage of Plato, in a highly wrought and fulsome eulogium on the intellectual abilities of his learned sovereign, saying:—"The deep and broad capacity of your mind, the grasp of your memory, the quickness of your apprehension, the penetration of your judgment, your lucid method of arrangement, and easy facility of speech: at such extraordinary endowments I am forcibly reminded of the saying of Plato '*that all science is but remembrance*,' and that the human mind is originally imbued with all knowledge; that which she seems adventitiously to acquire in life being nothing more than a return to her first conceptions, which had been overlaid by the grossness of the body. In no person, so much as your majesty does this opinion appear more fully confirmed."

That all novelty, &c.: Eccl. 1: 11. "There is no remembrance of former things; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come hereafter."

River Lethe, &c.: River of Oblivion, one of the fabled streams of the infernal or lower regions, the drinking of

well above ground as below. There is an abstruse [2] astrologer that saith, "If it were not for two things that are constant (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go farther asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment:" certain it is, that matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in [3] oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As [4] for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople, but destroy. Phaeton's car [5] went but a day; and the three years' drought, in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people

whose waters caused one to forget all the scenes and events and experience of former existence. To this Milton alludes in his usually exquisite style:—

"Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
Lethe, the river of Oblivion, rolls
Her watery labyrinth; whereof whoso drinks
Straightway his former sense and being forgets—
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain."

—*Par. Lost*, B. II, 582-6.

[2.] *Flux*: fluctuation. 'Our language, like our bodies, is in a perpetual *flux*.'—*Felton*. *Stay*: Synonyme? 'Affairs of state seemed rather to stand at a *stay*.'—*Hayward*.

[3.] *Winding-sheets that bury*: Point out the inaccuracy. Better in the Latin:—'Quæ omnia oblivione involvunt.'

[4.] *Dispeople*: depopulate.

[5.] *Phaeton's car*: Reference is made to the mythological account of Phaeton, the son of Helios and Clymene, who to disprove the taunt that the sun-god was not his father, requested and obtained permission from Helios to drive the sun-chariot for one day. The furious steeds, aware that the reins were directed by a less powerful hand than usual, ran out of

[6] alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow; but in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is farther to be noted, that the remnant of people which happen to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one [7] as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that

their course, thus setting the world on fire. The conflagration would have been total, had not Jupiter, in answer to the prayer of Earth, hurled Phaeton from his seat with a thunderbolt, by which he was precipitated into the river Eridanus.

Elias: or *Elijah*, 1 *Kings* 17: 1: "And *Elijah* the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead, said unto *Ahab*. As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain three years but according to my word." 1 *Kings* 18: 1: "And it came to pass after many days, that the word of the Lord came to *Elijah*, in the third year, saying, Go, show thyself unto *Ahab*; and I will send rain upon the earth." *Particular*: partial—confined to a limited region.

[6.] *West Indies*: In the time of *Bacon*, this name designated all the countries included under the name of the Spanish Main; that is, all the parts of Central and South America discovered by the Spaniards. *Narrow*: Better to say, of small extent. *Destructions*: We would say *modes of destruction*. *Happen*: the old form *hap* appears in some editions.

[7.] *Atlantis*: *Plato*, in his Dialogue entitled *Tymæus* (2: 24) mentions this island as having once existed in the Atlantic Ocean opposite to the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar). It was said to have exceeded Europe and Africa jointly in magnitude; and after existing for nine thousand years, during which period its inhabitants extended their conquests throughout the known quarters of the globe, to have been uprooted by prodigious earthquakes and inundations, and submerged in the ocean. According to the conjectures of *Buffon* and *White-*

they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world ; and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Egyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake), but rather, that it was desolated by a particular deluge ; for earthquakes are seldom in those parts ; but on the other side they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia, and Africa, and Europe, are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, [8] or mountains, are far higher than those with us ; whereby it seems that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As [9]

hurst, who regarded the Canaries and the Peak of Teneriffe as the summits belonging to some submerged continent, Atlantis was the land, which at a former period united Ireland to the Azores, and the Azores to America. On the other hand D'Anville and Heeren regard Plato's account of the Atlantis as altogether a fanciful speculation ; while there are not wanting many who discover in it proofs that the American continent was known at some remote period to the people of the Eastern hemisphere, but that the knowledge was subsequently lost.—*Brande.*

Bacon is the author of a philosophical romance entitled *New Atlantis*, on the plan of More's Utopia. He sails from Peru for China and Japan, by way of the South Sea, and is driven by storms to an island on which he finds an association devoted to the investigations of natural science and the practice of the arts. *Particular* : Synonyme ? *Seldom* : What part of speech here ? *As* : that.

[9.] *Machiavel* : Compare Essay on Custom, § 2. *That Machiavel hath* : Improve the form of expression by shortening it. *Traducing* : censuring (whether justly or unjustly) ; now the word means to slander. *Antiquities* : all the remains of ancient times whether of literature or art.

Zeals : Kinds of zeal. The word is not now used in the plural. *Sabinian* : Sabinianus of Volatena was elected

for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traduceing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

[10] The vicissitude, or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument.

[11] It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should

Bishop of Rome on the death of Gregory the Great, A. D. 604. He was of an avaricious disposition, and thereby incurred the popular hatred. He died in eighteen months after his election.—*D.*

[10.] *Superior globe*: or sphere—denoting, perhaps, the sphere in which the heavenly bodies are fixed, according to the old astronomy. *Argument*: subject, or discourse. [In hoc sermone.]

"She who even but now was your best object,
Your praise's argument, balm of your age,
Dearest and best."—*Shak.*

[11.] *Plato's great year*: Plat. *Tim.* 3:88 seq. "Some ancient astronomers supposed the intersections of the Equator and Ecliptic to be immovable, and because they found that the stars changed their distances from these intersections, they therefore imagined the Orb or Sphere in which the fixed Stars were placed, to have a slow revolution about the Poles of the Ecliptic; so that all the stars performed their circulations in the Ecliptic or its parallels, in the space of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty years; after which time the stars would again return to their former places. This period of time they called 'The Great Year,' and imagined that when it was finished every thing would begin again, and all things happen and come up in the same order as they do now."—*Keill's Astronomy.*

Cicero, in his *Natura Deorum* (B. 4, ch. 20), speaks of "the great year of the mathematicians."

last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of ques- [12] tion, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things: but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects, especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I [13] would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I [14] know not in what part), that every five-and-thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers come

<i>Fume</i> : idle conceit; groundless imagination.	<i>Accurate</i> :
in the obsolete sense of determinate, specific.	<i>In gross</i> :
in general; on the whole. [In summis et massis rerum.]	

[12.] *The gross and mass of things*: an instance of Tautology.

<i>Waited upon</i> : watched; closely examined.	<i>Respective</i> :
Synonyme?	<i>Version</i> :
<i>For</i> : Better, in respect to.	<i>Placing</i> : position.
change of direction.	<i>Lasting</i> :
duration.	<i>What kind</i> : Better, a certain kind.

[13.] *Toy*: a singular fancy or conceit. *Given over, &c.*: Paraphrase. [Neque tamen prorsus contemni volo, sed in observationem aliquam venire.]

[14.] *Low Countries*: [A Belgis.] Give the modern name.

Suit: sort; correspondence. One edition reads, *sute*: 'Touching matters belonging to the Church of Christ, they are not of one *sute*.'—Hooker. For the common expression 'out of sorts,' Shakespeare has 'out of *sutes*.' *It, &c.*: This circle of years. [Vocant autem hujus modi circulum annorum, Primam.] *Some concurrence*: Paraphrase.

about again ; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like ; and they call it the prime : it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

[15] But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitudes of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions ; [16] for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock ; the rest are tossed [17] upon the waves of time. To speak, therefore,

[15.] *Orbe* : What allusion is here made ?

[16.] *The rest* : Better, all false religions.

[17.] *Stay* : check.

" With prudent *stay* he long deferred
The fierce contention."—*Philips*.

Withal : besides. *Formerly* : Synonyme ? *Doubt* : apprehend. *If then, &c.* : The sense will become plainer, by changing the preceding semi-colon (which is found in all the editions) into a comma.

The springing up of a new sect : The minds of men [in the time of Henry VIII.] freed in part from the spiritual thralldom which had so long bound them, began to question other things besides matters of religious belief. In England, moreover, the religious revolution had been brought about by the higher orders of the state, the king, and the nobles ; not, as in Germany, by the people themselves. Consequently it bore the stamp of its authors. It was a monarchical and aristocratical revolution ; royalty, episcopacy, and nobility divided among them the rich spoil of their Papal predecessor ; and consequently, too, it left many, if not all, of the popular wants unsatisfied. *Thence arose a sect, which constantly went on increasing, of dissentients from the form of religion prescribed by the state.* In proportion to the difficulties which their dissent threw in their way, and the dangers to which it exposed them, were, as might be expected, these men's enthusiasm, perseverance,

of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions :—

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself the author thereof; all which points held when

energy, and courage. Calm, austere, laborious, temperate, hoping all things, enduring all things, they learned in time to dare all things for that which the very sufferings they underwent for the sake of it taught them implicitly to believe was of paramount importance to themselves and to all men. Such were the *English Puritans*, who were destined to be the main instruments in bringing about perhaps *the most important revolution* that has yet been recorded in the annals of human kind. The fire that burned thus fiercely in the breasts of a large portion of the people of England, continued to burn silently and unseen during the reign of Elizabeth, kept under, though it could not be extinguished, by the wise and firm policy of that illustrious woman. All restraint was relaxed in the next reign, as if the government had fallen into the hands of a rabble of half drunken dotards. In every relation of human life in which he is viewed, whether uttering drivelling absurdities to his parliaments, and at the same time likening himself to king Solomon in wisdom, or blustering about his courage and power at the very moment when he was giving unequivocal signs of cowardice and weakness, or enlivening the privacy of his royal retirement by the amusement of looking at his court fools jousting against each other, mounted upon the shoulders of other fools, or pouring forth the effusions of his obscene, grovelling nature to his worthy minion Buckingham, James is equally an object of aversion or contempt. And yet, of the death of this man, Archbishop Laud says, in his Diary, that “he breathed forth his blessed soul most religiously.” Contempt, disgust, and the bitter feelings engendered by the persecutions they

[18] Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting, or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving license to pleasures and a voluptuous life; for as for speculative heresies (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians), though they work mightily on men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alteration in states: except it be

underwent, converted the Puritans generally, before the close of this reign, into zealots for a *reformation in the state as well as in the church.*

James died, and was succeeded by his son,—a man who, as compared with his father, might be considered as possessing the tastes and habits of a gentleman,—though wanting altogether in those higher characteristics of an English gentleman,—a firm, a religious observance of his word,—an unswerving fidelity to duty and to truth,—and, viewed as the ruler of a great nation, absolutely incapable, from ignorance and narrowness of understanding, and from weakness both intellectual and moral. Having, however, very high notions of his power and prerogative, and sufficient courage to act upon these notions, though of not sufficient ability to act efficiently, he hurried on the contest, to which we have alluded above, between liberty of conscience and civil subjection—between the absolute domination of the One, or the Few, and the insurgent spirit of the Many. This conflict, from the deep and far-spreading character of its effects, will forever be intensely interesting, not only to Englishmen, but to every nation and tribe of civilized men.—*Crutk's Hist. Eng.* Vol. III, pp. 497, 498.

[18.] *Arminians*: those who profess to adopt the religious tenets of James Arminius (or Harmensen), a Protestant divine of Holland born 1560. Nine years after the death of Arminius, that is, in 1618, the famous Synod of Dort convened, and discussed, and decided against the doctrines of Arminius. Dr. Daniel Whitby, and Dr. John Taylor of England, were the most celebrated defenders of Arminianism; but the system as now

by the the help of civil occasions. There be [19] three manner of plantations of new sects: by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For [20] martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature; and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop [21] the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitudes in wars are many, [22] but chiefly in three things: in the seats, or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the con-

held, is a wider departure from what claims to be the orthodox faith, than was the system of Arminius.

The Arians: The author of this sect was Arius, a Presbyter of Alexandria, in the fourth century, who denied the equality of the Father and the Son, in the Godhead. In England, Whiston and Samuel Clarke were the principal introducers and defenders of this heresy, at the beginning of the last century. *Wits:* Synonyme? *Occasions:* occurrences. [Nisi ex occasione motuum civilium.]

[19.] *Three, &c.:* Paraphrase.

[20.] *For:* Equivalent?

[21.] *Compound:* Synonyme? *To take off:* Equivalent? [Schismatum denique Coryphæos favoribus potius et dignitatibus mollire atque allicere, quam violentia et sævitia exacerbare.]

[22.] *The conduct:* Equivalent?

[23.] duct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were the invaders) were all [24.] eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs; the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome: but east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation: but north and south are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents, that are upon the north; whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or (which is most apparent), of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

[23.] *Which*: Substitute the right word.

[24.] *Gallo-Græcia*: a part of the ancient Phrygia, in Asia Minor, that was invaded and occupied by a horde of Gauls under Brennus, having previously invaded Greece. They were called Gallo-Græci from their intermixture with the Greeks of Phrygia and Bithynia. To the descendants of this invading horde of Gauls in Asia Minor, Paul's Epistle to the *Galatians* (as it is called) was written. The *Galatia* of the New Testament was really the "Gaul" of the East, and the Epistle to the Galatians would more appropriately be called the "Epistle to the Gauls." Livy, in his account of Roman conquests in Galatia, denominates its inhabitants "Galli," or "Gauls;" and the Greek historians, Polybius and Dio Cassius, denominate ancient France "*Galatia*." In the wars of the East, this Gallic colony frequently hired themselves out as mercenaries; many became royal guards of the Syrian kings, and others became the mamelukes of the Ptolemies in Egypt. Augustus

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great [25] state and empire, you may be sure to have wars; for great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey: so it was in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of *Almaigne*, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather: and were not unlike

reduced Galatia to a Roman province. Josephus speaks of four hundred Gauls (i. e. Galatians) in the time of Julius Cæsar, given as a body-guard to Herod, having previously served Cleopatra in that capacity.

But east and west, &c.: The Latin reads:—*Attamen oriens et occidens cæli climata non determinant, neque etiam belli motus ab oriente, aut ab occidente, aliquid certæ observationis recipiunt.* *Certainty, &c.*: certain point of observation; a definite locality.

Fixed: by the north and south poles. *Contrariwise*: on the contrary. *In respect of the stars*: on account of, &c. [*Sive hoc ascribi possit hujus hemisphærii stellis.*]

Bacon, and the men of his time, had a belief in astrology, so far at least as the influences of the stars on human beings are concerned. *Of the cold*: Supply the words that should go before, to make the sense obvious.

[25.] *Natives which*: Make the requisite correction. [*Copias nativas provinciarum enervant et destruunt, propriis cohortibus domi fidentia.*] *Almaigne*: Germany.

"Then I stoutly won in fight

The Emperor's daughter of *Almaigne*."

—*Sir Guy of Warwick.*

Charles the Great: Charlemagne. *Were not unlike*: Paraphrase. [*Atque etiam in imperio occidentali, post Carolum Magnum, cum aves singulæ plumas suas repeterent, &c.*]

Befall to: happen to.

"Some great mischief hath befallen

To that meek man."—*Milton.*

Modern use omits the *to* after *befall*.

[26] to befall Spain if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars; for when a state grows to an over-power, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, [27] and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry, or generate, except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day, except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people, but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should [28] seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war: for commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

[29] As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns

[26.] *Accessions*: of wealth. [*Accessiones magnæ ditium.*]

Over-power: used as a noun. It is here equivalent to *excessive, undue magnitude*. *Sustentation*: support. 'Malcolm assigned certain rents for the *sustentation* of the canons.'—*Holinshed*.

[27.] *Which go, &c.*: who go, &c.

[28.] *They may*: Either the number of the pronoun, or of its noun, must be changed.

[29.] *As for the weapons*: Rather, 'As for the kind of weapons.' *Returns*: Synonyme? [*Periodos.*]

and vicissitudes; for certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Olydraces, in India, and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic; and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years.

It is an interesting inquiry, *What kinds of warlike weapons were in use in and about the time of Bacon?* Before the commencement of the civil wars, the citizens of London were carefully trained in the use of the pike and musket. The trainings, at first once a year, afterwards four times a year, were originally very irksome to weary artizans and thrifty shopkeepers, as, independently of the weight of the back and breast-plate, scull-cap, sword, musket, and bandoliers, with which they were obliged to repair to the muster, the military discipline was of such a complex character, that it both imposed much labor and consumed a great deal of time. The ponderous matchlock, or carbine, of those days, had to be put through a long succession of manœuvres, before it could be loaded, primed, and discharged. As for the pike it was a stout, heavy weapon of pliant ash, about sixteen feet long, and dexterity in the use of it could be acquired only by frequent practice. The Puritans at first regarded these warlike musters in the Artillery Gardens with abhorrence, as an absolute mingling with the profane; but when they were taught from the pulpits that their projected reformation could be accomplished only by carnal weapons, they crowded to the exercise with alacrity. In the meantime the proud Cavaliers, who were still blind to the political signs of the times, laughed scornfully at these new displays of cockney chivalry, and were wont to declare that it took a Puritan two years to learn how to discharge a musket without winking. But the laugh was turned against themselves after the civil wars commenced, when the pikes and guns of the civic militia scattered the fiery cavalry of Prince Rupert, and bore down all before them. When these Puritans were converted into actual soldiers they "marched to the field in high-crowned hats, collared bands, great loose coats, long tucks under them, and calves' leather boots. They used to sing a psalm, fall on, and beat all opposition." It is worthy of remark, too, that the long active service and military renown

[30] The conditions of weapons, and their improvements, are, first, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets: secondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations, and ancient inventions: the third is, the commodious use of them; as that they may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

[31] For the conduct of the war: at the first, men

of these campaigners gave them no disrelish, after the war had ended, for their former peaceful and humble occupations. On the contrary, the soldier resumed his mechanical implements, and the officer returned to his shop or warehouse; while the Cavaliers still went about with belts and swords, swearing, swaggering, and breaking into houses and stealing whatever they could find.—*Craik's Hist. Eng.*, Vol. III, p. 627.

Ordnance: Synonyme? [Tormenta ænea.] *Magic*: [Operationes magicas.]

[30.] *Conditions*: Synonyme? *Fetching*: striking.

Arietations: applications of the "aries" or battering ram, a weapon used by the ancients for beating down the walls of cities or fortresses. It consisted of a long and heavy beam of wood, armed with iron in the form of a ram's head at one end, and impelled against the wall by a large force of men supporting it in their arms, or when supported by a rope or cable at or near the middle of the beam.

The Macedonians: under the leadership of Alexander the Great. In the storming of this obscure city he came very near losing his life, which had been rashly exposed, by the wound of a barbed arrow which punctured his body through his coat of mail. See a thrilling account of the transaction in Rollin's History, Vol. V, pp. 166-7.

Commodious: Synonyme?

[31.] *Rested*: Synonyme? *They did put, &c.*: Paraphrase. *Pointing*: appointing.

"To celebrate the solemn bridall cheere

"Twixt Pelus and dame Thetis pointed there."—*Spenser*.

rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon [32] number rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like; and they grew more skillful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in [33] the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learn- [34]

Even match: [Aequo Marte.] *Battles*: forces. 'What may the king's whole *battle* reach unto?'—*Shak.* [Denique in acie instruenda et ordinanda peritiores fere erant.]

[32.] *After*: Afterwards. *Grew to rest, &c.*: Paraphrase the rest of the sentence. The Latin avoids the inelegant repetition found in this sentence:—'*Postea numerum præoptabant commodum potius, quam vastum; locorum opportunitates, diversionum artificia, et similia captabant; postremo, in acie ipsa instruenda peritiores evadebant.*'

[34.] *Reduced*: Synonyme? *Exhaust*: exhausted.

"The wealth
Of the Canaries was *exhaust*, the health
Of his good Majesty to celebrate"—*Habington.*

Juvenile: in the sense of *suited to youth*—corresponding to it in sprightliness and energy. *Its strength of years*: Better to have said, 'its manly age;' then the correspondence would have been maintained with the other expressions used to denote the successive periods of life. The Latin maintains it:—'*Succedit ætis virilis.*' *The philology of them*: i. e. as it would seem, of vicissitudes. '*Quatenus vero ad philologiam, quæ in hoc argumento ut plurimum versatur.*'

Philology: derived from two Greek words, signifying love of speech or language. It has been used by different authors in a great variety of significations. Johnson defines it 'literary

ing hath its infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and, lastly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust; but it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy; as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

criticism, grammatical learning.' It embraces Etymology, or the origin and combination of words; Syntax, or the construction of sentences; Criticism, or an examination of the uses of words, and of the merits or demerits of style and diction; Interpretation of authors; Historical development of a particular language; Comparison of different languages, and a philosophical consideration of them for the light they throw upon the nature and faculties of the human mind, the progress of knowledge, and the relation of different races and nations to each other. The word has sometimes been used as including rhetoric, history, poetry and antiquities. In some such vague sense as the latter, Bacon seems to use it in this passage; particularly in the sense of history.

Circle: series. *This writing*: Supply the ellipsis.

1. Write an Analysis of the Essay.
2. Point out the antiquated words or phrases.
3. Make a new division into Paragraphs.
4. Give Dr. Wardlaw's interpretation of the sentiment: 'There is no new thing under the sun.'
5. Repeat Bacon's eulogium on King James.
6. Describe the river of Lethe; and repeat Milton's lines.
7. The fable concerning Phaeton?
8. In Bacon's time, what was denoted by 'West Indies'?
9. The accounts given of Atlantis?
10. Who was Sabinian? What was Plato's 'Great Year'?
11. Who are the Arminians? The Arians?
12. Give an account of Gallo-Græcia.
13. Bacon's view of astrology? What is meant by Arietations?
14. Anecdote of Alexander? *Philology*: definitions of it?

ESSAY XXVII.

SIMULATION, AND DISSIMULATION.

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy, [1] or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, "Livia sorted well with the arts [2] of her husband, and dissimulation of her son; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius:" and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, "We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius." These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be showed at half lights, and to whom and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot attain to that [3] judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler; for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men [4] that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity; but

then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

[5] There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self; the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy, when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the second, dissimulation in the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is; and the third, simulation in the affirmative, when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

[6] For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions, for who will open himself to [7] a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and, as in confessing, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their [8] minds than impart their minds. In few words, [9] mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely as well in mind as in body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners [10] and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal; for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not; therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral: and in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a

man's self by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree: for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters; and therefore a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which, because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practice simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three: first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarm to call up all that are against them; the second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through or take a fall: the third is, the better

to discover the mind of another ; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves averse ; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought ; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, "Tell a lie and find a troth," as if there were no way of discovery but by [17] simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even ; the first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which, in any business, doth spoile the feathers of round flying up to the mark ; the second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends ; the third and greatest is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments [18] for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion, secrecy in habit, dissimulation in seasonable use, and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

ESSAY XXVIII.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their [1] griefs and fears ; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, [2] but they make misfortunes more bitter ; they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common [3] to beasts ; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men : and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed ; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are [4] most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work ; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards [5] their several children, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother ; as Solomon saith, " A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother." A man shall [6] see where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons ; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The [7] illiberality of parents in allowance towards their children, is a harmful error, and makes them base ; acquaints them with shifts ; and makes them sort with

mean company, and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but [8] not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants) in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when [9] they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump they care not, though they pass not through their own body: and to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle, or a kinsman, more than his own [10] parents, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. [11] It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, "*optimum elige,* [12] *suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo.*" Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

ESSAY XXIX.

MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

HE that hath wife and children hath given hos- [1]
tages to fortune, for they are impediments to great
enterprises either of virtue or mischief. Certainly [2]
the best works, and of greatest merit for the public,
have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men,
which, both in affection and means, have married and
endowed the public. Yet it were great reason [3]
that those that have children should have greatest care
of future times, unto which they know they must trans-
mit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who, [4]
though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do
end with themselves, and account future times imperti-
nences; nay, there are some other that account wife
and children but as bills of charges; nay more, there
are some foolish rich covetous men that take a pride in
having no children, because they may be thought so
much the richer; for perhaps they have heard some
talk, "Such an one is a great rich man," and another
would except to it, "Yea, but he hath a great charge
of children," as if it were an abatement to his riches;
but the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty,
especially in certain self-pleasing and humourous minds,
which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go
near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and
shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best [5]
masters, best servants, but not always best subjects;
for they are light to run away, and almost all fugitives
are of that condition. A single life doth well [6]

[5] A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others: neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: "*Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*"

[6] Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

[7] Deformed persons and eunuchs, and old men and bastards, are envious; for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, "That an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters;" affecting the honour of a miracle: as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

[8] The same is the case of men who rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

[9] They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work; it being impossible but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works, wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks and fellows in office, [10] and those that are bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's [11] envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because, when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on. Thus [12] much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject [13] to envy: First, persons of eminent virtue, when [14] they are advanced, are less envied; for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of [15] a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy [16] persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre, for fresh men grow up to darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their [17] rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth; besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank, or steep rising ground, than upon a flat; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and "*per saltum*."

[18] Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a "*quanta patimur*;" not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy: but this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places; for by that means, there be so many screens between him and envy.

[19] Above all, these are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner; being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them.

[20] Notwithstanding, so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain glory), doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

[21] Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of

witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the lot (as they call it) and to lay it upon another: for which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy: there is yet [22] some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great; and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word "*invidia*," [23] goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment; of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection: for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour: and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions: for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to bear chiefly upon [24] principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and states themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small, or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the

envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. [25] And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

[26] We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, "*Invidia festos dies non agit*:" for it is [27] ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so [28] continual. It is also the vilest affection and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called "The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;" as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

ESSAY XXXI.

LOVE.

THE stage is more beholding to love than the [1] life of man; for as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all [2] the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love, which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, [3] nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver, whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man; and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, "*Satis mag-* [4] *num alter alteri theatrum sumus*;" as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven, and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this pas- [5] sion, and how it braves the nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole, is comely in nothing but in love: neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said, "That the arch flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self;" certainly the lover is more; for there was never a proud man thought so

absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, "That it is impossible to love and to be wise." Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciprocal; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciprocal, or with an inward and secret contempt; by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion which loseth not only other [7] things but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them: "That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas;" for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, [8] quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath its floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be [9] the child of folly. They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with business it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways [10] be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid [11] in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometimes [12] in friars. Nuptial love maketh man kind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

ESSAY XXXII.

BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet [1]
worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was [2]
asked of Demosthenes what was the chief part of an
orator, he answered, action: what next? action: what
next again? action. He said it that knew it best, [3]
and had by nature himself no advantage in that he com-
mended. A strange thing, that that part of an [4]
orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of
a player, should be placed so high above those other
noble parts of invention, elocution and the rest; nay
almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the [5]
reason is plain. There is in human nature gene- [6]
rally more of the fool than of the wise: and therefore
those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds
is taken, are most potent. Wonderful-like is the [7]
case of boldness in civil business: what first? boldness:
what second and third? boldness. And yet bold- [8]
ness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to
other parts: but nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and
bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in
judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest
part; yea, and prevaieth with wise men at weak times:
therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states,
but with senates and princes less; and more, ever upon
the first entrance of bold persons into action, than soon
after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise.

Surely, as there are mountebanks for the natural [9]
body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body;

men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds [10] of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's [11] miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer [12] up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, "If the hill will not come [13] to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill." So these men, when they have promised great matters, and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a [14] turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous; for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity; especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir: but this last were fitter for a [15] satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

ESSAY XXXIII.

GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE goodness in this sense, the affecting of [1] the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call ‘Philanthropia;’ and the word humanity (as it is used), is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the [2] habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This, [3] of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity; and without it man is a busy, mischievous wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theo- [4] logical virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to [5] fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall; but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclina- [6] tion to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch, as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl. Errors indeed, in this [7] virtue, in goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, “*Tanto buon che val niente*,” “So good, that he is good for nothing:” and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, “That the Christian faith had given up

good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust;" which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth; therefore to avoid the scandal, and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of a habit so excellent.

[8] Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner.

[9] Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barleycorn.

[10] The example of God teacheth the lesson truly: "He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and unjust;" but he doth not rain wealth,

nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally; common benefits are to be communicate with all, but peculiar

[11] benefits with choice. And beware how in making

the portraiture thou breakest the pattern: for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern, the love of our neighbours but the portraiture: "Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me;" but sell not

all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain.

[12] Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it, as, on the other side,

there is a natural malignity: for there be that in their

[13] nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or diffidence, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and mere mischief.

[14] Such men, in other men's calamities, are, as it

were, in season, and are ever on the loading part ; not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw ; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had : such dispositions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics of ; like to knee timber, that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. [15] If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, [16] it shows that he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them : if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm : if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot ; if he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash ; but above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ, for the salvation of his brethren, it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

ESSAY XXXIV.

NOBILITY.

[1] We will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons.

[2] A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal: but

for democracies, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps of nobles: for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest,

[3] and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not res-

[4] pects. The United Provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the

[5] payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power; and putteth life and spirit into the

[6] people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it

[7] come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in

time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a [8] reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time? for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that [9] are first raised to nobility, are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts; but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth [10] industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is: besides, noble persons cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, [11] nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobi- [12] lity shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

ESSAY XXXV.

SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

[1] SHEPHERDS of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality: as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia: and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:—

—“ Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.”

[2] Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open, and in like sort false news often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the [3] signs of trouble. Virgil giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants:—

“ Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem,
Progeniuit.” *Æneid*, IV, 177.

[4] As if fames were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever, he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced; for that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, “*conflata magna invidia,* [5] *seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt.*” Neither doth

it follow, that because these fumes are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speak- [6] eth of, is to be held suspected: "*Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam exequi;*" disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, as a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those which are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, [7] that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side: as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself: for when the authority of princes is made but an accessory to a cause, and there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, [8] are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost; for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under "*primum mobile*," (according to the old opinion,) which is that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and as Tacitus

expresseth it well, "*liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*," it is a sign the orbs are out of frame: for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; "*solvam cingula regum*."

[9] So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken, or weakened, (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure,) men had need to pray [10] for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

[11] Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it), is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set [12] it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds, [13] much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for [14] troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war,

"Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fenus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."

[15] This same "*multis utile bellum*," is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great: for the [16] rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame: and let no prince mea-

sure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust; for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good: nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: "*Dolendi modus, timendi non item*:" besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so: neither let any prince, or state, be secure concerning discontentments because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued; for as it is true that every vapour, or fume, doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, "The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull."

The causes and motives of seditions are, inno- [17]
vation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general [18]
preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, [19]
by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we speak, which is, want and poverty in the estate; to which purpose serveth the opening and well balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and

excess, by sumptuary laws ; the improvement and husbanding of the soil ; the regulating of prices of things vendible ; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the [20] like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars), do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them : neither is the population to be reckoned only by number ; for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live low and gather more : therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over-proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity ; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock ; and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

[21] It is likewise to be remembered, that forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another ; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it ; the manufacture ; and the vecture, or carriage ; so that, if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a [22] spring-tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that "*materiam superabit opus*," that the work and carriage is worth more than the material, and enricheth a state more ; as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

[23] Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and moneys in a state be not gathered into few hands ; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve : and money is like muck, not [24] good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a straight hand

upon the devouring trades of usury, engrossing great pasturage, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or, at least, the [25] danger of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is [26] not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves; then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest [27] of the gods would have bound Jupiter, which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery), is a safe way; for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations. [28]

The part of Epimetheus might well become [29] Prometheus, in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them. Epime- [30] theus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and [31] entertaining of hopes, and carrying of men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments; and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's

hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such a manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope; which is the less hard to do; because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

[32] Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known [33] but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular; which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner, or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose [34] them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at a distance, or, at least, distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst remedies; for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

[35] I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches, which have fallen from princes, have given fire [36] to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, "*Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dicere;*" for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over [37] his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, "*legi a se militem, non emi;*" for it put the

soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, [38] likewise by that speech, "*si vixero non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;*" a speech of great despair for the soldiers, and many the like. Surely [39] princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions; for as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be [40] without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of trouble, than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith, "*atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur:*" but let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

ESSAY XXXVI.

TRAVEL.

[1] TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of edu-
[2] cation; in the elder, a part of experience. He
that travelleth into a country, before he hath some
entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to
[3] travel. That young men travel under some tutor
or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a
one that hath the language, and hath been in the country
before; whereby he may be able to tell them what
things are worthy to be seen in the country where they
go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises
or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men
[4] shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a
strange thing that, in sea voyages, where there is noth-
ing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries;
but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed,
for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter
to be registered than observation: let diaries therefore,
[5] be brought in use. The things to be seen and
observed, are the courts of princes, especially when they
give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice,
while they sit and hear causes, and so of consistories
ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the
monuments which are therein extant; the walls and
fortifications of cities and towns; and so of the havens
and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges,
disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and
navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near
great cities; armories, arsenals, magazines, exchanges,

burses, warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, [6] masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them; and yet they are not to be neglected. If [7] you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in a short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card or book, describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance; let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth; let him upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know: thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As [8] for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors; for

so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame: for quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words: and let a man beware how he keepeth company with cholerick and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth; and let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories; and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts, but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

ESSAY XXXVII.

EMPIRE.

IT is a miserable state of mind to have few [1] things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case with kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which make their minds the less clear: and this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, "That the king's heart is inscrutable:" for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that [2] princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building, sometimes upon erecting of an order, sometimes upon the advancing of a person, sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp, Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow, Commodus for playing at fence, Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This [3] seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that kings that [4] have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their

fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian, and in our memory Charles the Fifth, and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

[5] To speak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep, for both temper and distemper consist of contraries; but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them.

[6] The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of [7] excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, what was Nero's overthrow? he answered, Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes he let them down too low; and certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

[8] This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof: but this is but to try masteries with fortune; and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared, for no man can forbid the spark, [9] nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great, but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind; for it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories, "*Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ*;" for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

[10] Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their

wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war ; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours, there can no general [11] rule be given, (the occasions are so variable,) save one which ever holdeth : which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so, (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like,) as they become more able to annoy them than they were ; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of Kings, king Henry [12] the Eighth of England, Francis the First, king of France, and Charles the Fifth, Emperor, there was such a watch kept, that none of the three could win a palm of ground but the other two would straightways balance it either by confederation, or if need were, by a war, and would not in any wise take up peace at interest ; and the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy) made between Ferdinando, king of Naples, Lorenzious Medicis, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the [13] schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made but upon a precedent injury or provocation ; for there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of [14] them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband ; Roxalana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince Sultan Mustapha, and other-

wise troubled his house and succession ; Edward the Second of England's queen had the principal hand in [15] the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutrresses.

[16] For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many ; and generally the entering of the fathers into suspicion of their children [17] hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood ; for that Selymus the second was thought to be sup-[18] positious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house, for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths ; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus [19] had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance : and many like examples there are, but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were in open arms against them ; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry the Second, king of England.

[20] For their prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them ; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the king's sword ; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry the

First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not [21] from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority, or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles, to keep them at a distance it [22] is not amiss; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in [23] my History of king Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility, whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business, so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles, there is not much [24] danger from them, being a body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are "*vena porta*;" [25] and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good [26] to the king's revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he looseth in the shire, the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons, there is little danger from [27] them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

[28] For their men of war, it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives, whereof we see examples in the janizaries and pretorian bands of Rome: but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence and no danger.

[29] Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, "*memento quod es homo*;" and "*memento quod es Deus, or vice Dei*;" the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

ESSAY XXXVIII.

COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is the [1] trust of giving counsel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not [2] think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God [3] himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, "The Counsellor." Solomon hath pronounced, that "in counsel is sta- [4] bility." Things will have their first or second [5] agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son found [6] the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it; for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the [7] incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other, in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after

Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas, [8] armed out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how kings are to make use of their council of state: that, first, they ought to refer matter unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed), proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

[9] Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, [10] and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France in some kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils, a remedy worse than the disease.

[11] As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select; neither is it necessary, that he that

consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do : but let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves; and as for cabinet counsels, it may be their motto, "*plenus rimarum sum*:" one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs [12] which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons beside the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with king Henry the Seventh of England, who, in his greatest business, imparted himself to none except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority the fable sheweth [13] the remedy; nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel: neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies by his council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, "*non inveniet fidem super terram*," is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that [15] are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved; let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors [16] are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor

keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear: but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them:—

“Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.”

[17] And on the other side, counsellors should not be [18] too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skillful in their master's business, than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour.

[19] It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before [20] others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours, and in consort men are more obnoxious to others' humours, therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in [21] consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons: neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, “*secundum genera*,” as in an idea of mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judg- [22] ment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, “*optimi consiliiarii mortui*,” “books will speak plain when counsellors blanch;” therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

[23] The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on

than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of [24] weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till next day; "*in nocte consilium*:" so was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it [25] gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may "*hoc agere*." In choice of committees for [26] ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I com- [27] mend, also, standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate, (as it is in Spain,) they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform [28] councils out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like,) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, [29] or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in [30] council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth: for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of "*placebo*."

ESSAY XXXIX.

DISPATCH.

[1] **AFFECTED** dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be : it is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion ; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities, and secret seeds of diseases ; therefore measure not dispatch by the time of sitting, but by the advancement of the business ; and as, in races, it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed, so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at

[2] once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch ; but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off ; and business so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner.

[3] I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, " Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner."

[4] On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing ; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares ; and business is bought at a dear hand where [5] there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch : "*Mi venga la muerte de Spagna ;*" " Let my death come from Spain," for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

[6] Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of

their speeches ; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course ; but sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time ; but there [7] is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question ; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious [8] speeches are as fit for dispatch, as a robe, or mantle, with a long train, is for a race. Prefaces, and [9] passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time ; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when [10] there is any impediment, or obstruction, in men's wills ; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and [11] singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch ; so as the distribution be not too subtile : for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business ; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time ; and an unseason- [12] able motion is but beating the air. There be [13] three parts of business,—the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection ; whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceed- [14] ing upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch ; for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

ESSAY XL.

EXPENSE.

[1] RICHES are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions ; therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion : for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven ; but ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass, and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants ; and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts ; and if he think to wax rich, [3] but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. [4] Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken : but wounds cannot be cured [5] without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, hath need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often ; for new [6] are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behooveth him to [7] turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other : as, if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel ; if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable and the like : for he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds, will hardly be preserved

from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he [8] may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, [9] he that clears at once, will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not [10] despise small things; and commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, [11] which once begun will continue; but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

ESSAY XLI.

PLANTATIONS.

[1] PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive,
[2] and heroical works. When the world was young
it begat more children, but now it is old it begets fewer,
for I may justly account new plantations to be the chil-
[3] dren of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in
a pure soil ; that is, where people are not displanted to
the end to plant in others ; for else it is rather an
[4] extirpation than a plantation. Planting of coun-
tries is like planting of woods ; for you must make
account to lose almost twenty years' profit, and expect
your recompense in the end : for the principal thing
that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath
been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first
[5] years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be
neglected, as far as it may stand with the good of the
[6] plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and
unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked
condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant ;
and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation ; for they
will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be
lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly
weary, and then certify over to their country to the
[7] discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith
you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers,
smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with
some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks and bakers.
[8] In a country of plantation, first look about what
kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand ; as

chestnuts, walnuts, pineapples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what victual, or esculent [9] things there are which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with peas and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought [10] to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For [11] beasts or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended [12] almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance; and let the main part of the ground, employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock, and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private use. Consider, likewise, what commodities the soil [13] where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation; so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too [14] much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If [15] there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for [16] it, would be put in experience: growing silk likewise,

if any be, is a likely commodity : pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail ; so drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit ; soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of ; but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to [17] make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel ; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation ; and, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service, before their eyes ; let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number ; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen than merchants ; for they look ever to the present gain : let there be freedom from custom till the plantation be of strength ; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause [18] for caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company ; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably ; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not [19] by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marshy and unwholesome grounds ; therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams, than along. [20] It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be neces-

sary. If you plant where savages are, do not [21] only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless ; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss ; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When [22] the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men ; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfulness thing [23] in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness ; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

ESSAY XLII.

PROPHECIES.

[1] I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions, but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and [2] from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, "To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me." Virgil hath these verses from Homer :

"At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:"

Æn. III, 97.

[3] a prophecy as it seems of the Roman empire.

[4] Seneca the tragedian hath these verses :

——"Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule;"

[5] a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed [6] it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly, whereby he did expound it that his wife should be barren: but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to [7] seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, "*Philippis iterum me videbis.*" Tiberius said to Galba,

"*Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium.*" In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea should reign over the world; which, though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed the night before he was slain, [9] that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the Sixth [10] of England, said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, "This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive." When I [11] was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen-mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges, and duels; but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when [12] I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

"When hempe is spunne,
England's done;"

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princess had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hempe (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of name; for the king's style is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also [13] another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand:

“There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.”

[14] It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight; for that the king of Spain’s surname, as they say, is Norway.

[15] The prediction of Regiomontanus,

“Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,”

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea.

[16] As for Cleon’s dream, I think it was a jest: it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled

[17] him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind, especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology; but I have set down these few only of

[18] certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside; though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief; and I see

[19] many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth

[20] in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do,

[21] generally, also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions many times turn themselves into prophecies: while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell

that which indeed they do but collect; as that of Seneca's verse; for so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's *Timæus*, and his *Atlanticius*, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The [22] third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned, after the event past.

ESSAY XLIII.

AMBITION.

[1] **AMBITION** is like choler which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped ; but if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous : so ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous ; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward ; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state : therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive, and not retrograde, which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all ; for if they rise not with their service, they will take order [2] to make their service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak [3] in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious ; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest ; and to take a soldier without ambition, is to [4] pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy ; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts, [5] because he cannot see about him. There is use

also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops : as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, [6] they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous : there is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble ; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular ; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some [7] a weakness in princes to have favourites ; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones ; for when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over great. Another means to curb them is, [8] to balance them by others as proud as they : but then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady ; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and [9] inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them [10] obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well ; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As [11] for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it [12] is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing ; for that breeds confusion, and mars business : but yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependencies. He that seeketh to be [13]

eminent amongst able men, hath a great task ; but that is ever good for the public : but he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of a whole [14] age. Honor hath three things in it : the vantage ground to do good ; the approach to kings and principal persons ; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. [15] He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man ; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, [16] is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery ; and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

ESSAY XLIV.

MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

THESE things are but toys to come amongst [1] such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegance, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song [2] is a thing of great state and pleasure. I under- [3] stand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially [4] in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing, (for that is a mean and vulgar thing;) and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, (a lass and a tenor; no treble,) and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed [5] one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthemwise, give great pleasure. Turning [6] dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of [7] scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the [8] scenes abound with light, especially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the [9]

songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and [10] well placed. The colours that show best by candle-light are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green; and ouches, or spangs, as they are of no [11] great cost, so they are of most glory. As for [12] rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizors are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners [13] and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, spirits, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statues moving, and [14] the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other side, as unfit, but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and [15] with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of [16] great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety; but all is nothing, except the room be kept clear and neat.

[17] For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots wherein the challengers make their entry, especially if they be drawn with strange beasts; as lions, bears, camels, and the like: or in the devices of their entrance, or in the bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their [18] horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

ESSAY XLV.

NATURE IN MEN.

NATURE is often hidden, sometimes overcome, [1] seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more [2] violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his [3] nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings: and at the first, let him practice with helps, as swimmers do with bladders, or rushes; but after a time, let him practice with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes; for it breeds great perfection if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory [4] hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four-and-twenty letters when he was angry: then to go less in quantity; as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether: but if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

*"Optimus ille animi vindex, lædenti pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel."*

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature [5] as a wand, to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself

with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission; for both the pause reinforceth the new onset: and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practice his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions: but let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion, or temptation; like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her: therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved [6] with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. [7] They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, "*multum incola fuit anima mea*," when they converse in those things [8] they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies [9] will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

ESSAY XLVI.

USURY.

MANY have made witty invectives against usury. [1] They say that it is pity the devil should have God's [2] part, which is the tithe; that the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

"Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent;"

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, "*in sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum*;" not "*in sudore vultus alieni*;" that usurers should have orange-tawney bonnets, because they do judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget money, and the like. I say [3] this only, that usury is a "*concessum propter duritiem cordis*." for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others [4] have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions: but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set [5] before us the incommunities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out: and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommunities of usury are, first, that it [6] makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but it would in great part be employed upon merchandizing, which is the "*vena porta*" of wealth in a state: the second, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at

great usury : the third is incident to the other two ; and that is, the decay of customs of kings, or estates, which ebb or flow with merchandizing : the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands ; for the usurer being at certainties, and the other at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box ; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread : the fifth, that it beats down the price of land ; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing, or purchasing ; and usury waylays both : the sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug : the last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

[7] On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it ; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest ; so as if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade : the second is, that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot, and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad [8] markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter ; for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. [9] I remember a cruel moneyed man in the country, that would say, "The devil take this usury, it keeps

us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds." The [10] third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped; therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind of rate or other: so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reglement [11] of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It ap- [12] pears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one, that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite moneyed men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot [13] be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money: and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate; but other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be [14] briefly thus: that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all, the other under license only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandizing. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to [15] five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same; this will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will, in good

part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five: this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit.

[16] Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a higher rate, and let it be with the cautions following: let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant or whosoever: let it be no bank, or common stock, but every man be master of his own money; not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly [17] be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered, some small matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain [18] gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will hardly be able to colour other men's moneys in the country; so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will send his moneys far off, nor put them into unknown hands. [19] If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive, the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

ESSAY XLVII.

BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set ; and [1] surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features ; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect : neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue ; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency ; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit ; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not [2] always : for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philippe Belle of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour [3] is more than that of colour ; and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour. That [4] is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot express ; no, nor the first sight of the life. There [5] is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether [6] Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler ; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions ; the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such person- [7] ages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them : not but that I think a painter may make a better face than ever was ; but he must do it by a kind of felicity, (as a musician that maketh an excellent air

[8] in music,) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that, if you examine them part by part, you shall [9] find never a good ; and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though persons in years seem many times more amiable ; “ *pulchrorum autumnus pulcher* ;” for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the [10] comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last ; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance ; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtue shine, and vices blush.

ESSAY XLVIII.

DEFORMITY.

DEFORMED persons are commonly even with [1] nature ; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) " void of natural affection ;" and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a con- [2] -
sent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other : "*ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero* : " but because there is in man an election, touching the frame of his mind, and necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue ; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign which is more deceivable, but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that [3] doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn ; therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold ; first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth [4] in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it [5] quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise : and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession : so that upon the matter, in

a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising.

[6] Kings, in ancient times, (and at this present in some countries,) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one ; but yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials, and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers : and much like is the reason of deformed persons.

[7] Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn ; which must be either by virtue or malice ; and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons ; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, *Æsop*, Gasca, president of Peru ; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

ESSAY XLIX.

BUILDING.

HOUSES are built to live in, and not to look on ; [1] therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics [2] of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He [3] that builds a fair house upon an ill seat committeth himself to prison ; neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal ; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs ; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is [4] it ill air only that maketh an ill seat ; but ill ways, ill markets, and, if you consult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of many more ; want of water, [5] want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures ; want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races ; too near the sea, too remote ; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing ; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business ; or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh every thing dear ; where a man hath a great living laid together ; and where he is scanted ; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, .

so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can ; and if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth [6] in the one, he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, "Surely an excellent place for summer, [7] but how do you in winter?" Lucullus answered, "Why do you not think me as wise as some fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?"

[8] To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the Orator's art, who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator* ; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter [9] the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof: for it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escorial, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

[10] First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Esther, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and [11] triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. [12] I would have, on the side of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty feet high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing [13] place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the

first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between,) both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the farther end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two [14] stories, of eighteen feet high a-piece above the two wings; and goodly leads upon the top, railed with statues interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs [15] likewise to the upper rooms let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the [16] lower rooms, for a dining place of servants; for, otherwise, you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel; and so much for the front: only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen feet, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, [17] but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front; and in all the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower buildings. Let [18] the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter; but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of [19] return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas

in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works : on the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers : and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon [20] and afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter ; shady for summer, [21] and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell [22] where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For inbowed windows, I hold them of good use ; in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street ; for they be pretty retiring places for conference ; and beside, they keep both the wind and sun off ; for that which would strike almost through the room, doth scarce pass the window : but let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

[23] Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides ; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story ; on the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation ; and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground, to avoid all dampishness : and let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst of the court, and to be paved as the other court [24] was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries ; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, "anticamera," and "recamera,"

joining to it; this upon the second story. Upon [25] the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story likewise, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the farther side, by way of [26] return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery too, [27] I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountain running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for [28] the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain, with a wall about it, a second court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand [29] at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

ESSAY L.

GARDENS.

[1] GOD ALMIGHTY first planted a garden ; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures ; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man ; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handiwork : and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely : as if gardening were the greater [2] perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may [3] be then in season. For December and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter ; holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pines, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender ; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue ; germander, flags, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved ; and sweet majoram, warm set.

[4] There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms ; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the gray ; primroses, anemones, the early tulip, the hyacinthus orientalis, [5] chamairis fritellaria. For March, there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest ; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in [6] blossom, sweetbriar. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures ; rose-

mary-flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene and plum-trees in blossom, the white-thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and [7] June come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July [8] come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, genittings, codlins. In August come plums of all sorts [9] in fruit, pears, apricots, berberries, filberts, muskmelons, monk-hoods, of all colours. In September [10] come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come [11] services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These par- [12] ticulars are for the climate of London: but my meaning is perceived, that you may have "*ver perpetuum*," as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter [13] in the air (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, [14] damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewise, yield no smell as [15] they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet majoram; that

which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, especially the white double violet, which comes twice a-year, about the middle of April, [16] and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, with with a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweetbriar, then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, especially the matted pink and clove-gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime-tree; then the honeysuckles, so they be some- [17] what afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers; but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mints; therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

[18] For gardens (speaking of those which are, indeed, prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in entrance, a heath, or desert, in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides; and, I like well, that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either [19] side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden: but because the

alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year, or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green; therefore you are, of either side of the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve feet in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for [20] the making of knots, or figures, with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side on which the garden stands, they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encom- [21] passed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten feet high, and six feet broad, and the spaces between of the same dimensions with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire [22] hedge of some four feet high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six feet, set all with flowers. Also [23] I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the farther end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath. For the ordering of the ground within the [24]

great hedge, I leave it to variety of device ; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first, it be not too busy, or full of work ; wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other [25] garden stuff ; they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well : and in some places fair columns, upon frames [26] of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys [27] spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. [28] I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast ; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments ; and the whole mount to be thirty feet high, and some fine banqueting-house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

[29] For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment ; but pools mar all, and make the garden [30] unwholesome and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures : the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water ; the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty feet square, but without fish, or [31] slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well ; but the main matter is to convey the water, as it never stay either in the bowls or in the cistern ; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction ; besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand : also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it [32] do well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing-pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble

ourselves ; as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images ; the sides likewise ; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre ; encompassed also with fine rails of low statues : but the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain ; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little ; and for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our [33] plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, [34] but some thickets made only of sweetbriar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst ; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses ; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade ; and these are to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills [35] (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye ; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with liliu[m] convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly ; part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without : the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, berberries (put here and there, because of the smell of

their blossoms), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweetbriar, and such like : but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

[36] For the side-grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade ; some of [37] them wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery : and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind ; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet.

[38] In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges ; and this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep ; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees.

[39] At the end of both the side-grounds, I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the fields.

[40] For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys, ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order ; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free.

[41] For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side-grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day ; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of the summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of [42] that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them ; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear on the floor of the aviary. So I have [43] made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing ; not a model, but some general lines of it ; and in this I have spared for no cost : but it is nothing for great princes, that, for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statues, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

ESSAY LI.

NEGOTIATING.

[1] It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's [2] self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be in danger to be interrupted, [3] or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly, with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go; and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to [4] disavow, or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in [5] report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well [6] bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things where you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive [7] to maintain their prescription. It is better to

sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing [8] with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon [9] conditions, the start of first performance is all: which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before, or else a man can persuade the other party, that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honestest man. All practice is to [10] discover, or to work. Men discover themselves [11] in trust, in passion, at unawares; and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature or fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing [12] with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In [13] all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

ESSAY LII.

FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

[1] **COSTLY** followers are not to be liked ; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings [2] shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and [3] importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, re- [4] commendation, and protection from wrongs. Factionous followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other ; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that [5] we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience, for they taint business through want of secrecy ; and they export honour from a man, and [6] make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed espials ; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others ; yet such men many times are in great favour ; for they are officious, and com- [7] monly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth, (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like,) hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity : but the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed as one

that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons ; and yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable than with the more able : and besides, to speak truth, in base times active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government, it is [8] good to use men of one rank equally : for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent ; because they may claim a due : but contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good ; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious ; because all is of favour. It is good discretion not [9] to make too much of any man at the first ; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed [10] (as we call it) by one, is not safe ; for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation ; for those that would not censure, or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour : yet to be distracted with many is worse ; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change.

To take advice of some few friends is ever [11] honourable, for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters ; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least [12] of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, [13] whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

ESSAY LIII.

SUITORS.

[1] MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken;
[2] and private suits do putrify the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend
[3] not performance. Some embrace suits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter, by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or to take a second reward, or, at least, to make use in the mean time of
[4] the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party, or compe-
[5] titor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of peti-
[6] tion. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to
[7] compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better
[8] deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour; but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose.
[9] Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses,

that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable, but also gracious. In suits of favour, the [10] first coming ought to take little place ; so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means ; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a [11] suit, is simplicity ; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits [12] is a great mean of obtaining ; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others : but timing of the suit is the principal ; timing I say, not only in respect of the person who should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the [13] choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean, than the greatest mean ; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The repara- [14] tion of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. "*Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras*," is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour ; but otherwise, a man were better rise in his suit ; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to [15] a great person, as his letter ; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these gene- [16] ral contrivers of suits ; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

ESSAY LIV.

FACTION.

[1] MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one: but I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral; but even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with [2] the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a great [3] number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called "*optimates*") held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled [4] down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and [5]

subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the [6] same holdeth in private factions: and, therefore, those that are seconds in factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove ciphers and cashiered: for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen, that [7] men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter; thinking, belike, that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away [8] with it; for when matters have stuck long in balanceing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between [9] two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little [10] suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth, "*Padre commune*;" and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side [11] themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king "*tanquam unus ex nobis*;" as was to be seen in the league of France. When factions are carried too high [12] and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of "*primum mobile*."

· ESSAY LV.

CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

[1] He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue ; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil : but if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains : for the proverb is true, "That light gains make heavy purses ;" for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then ; so it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note ; whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals ; therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as queen Isabella said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms : to attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them ; for so shall a man observe them in others ; and let him trust himself with the rest ; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace ; which is to be natural and unaf-
[2] fected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured ; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too
[3] much to small observations ? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again ; and so diminish respect to himself ; especially they are not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures ; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks : and, certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages

amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers, a man. [4] shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state: amongst a man's inferiors, one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar, He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others, is [5] good; so it be with demonstration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility, It is a good [6] precept, generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as, if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging farther reason. Men [7] had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It [8] is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, "He that considereth the wind [9] shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap." A wise man will make more oppor- [10] tunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or *point device*, but free for exercise or motion.

ESSAY LVI.

VAIN-GLORY.

[1] It was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, "What a [2] dust do I raise!" So are there some vain persons, that, whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think [3] it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon [4] comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts; neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual: but according to the French proverb, "*beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit*;"—"much [5] bruit, little fruit," Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, [6] these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth, in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies: as if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against a third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either: and in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, [7] and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain-glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage

sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise [8] upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business ; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning the flight will be [9] slow without some feathers of ostentation : “ *Qui de contemnenda gloria libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.*” Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men [10] full of ostentation : certainly, vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a man’s memory ; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received its due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, [11] Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves ; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while when I speak of vain-glory, I [12] mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, “ *Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator ;*” for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion ; and in some persons, is not only comely, but gracious : for excusations, cessions, modesty itself, well governed, are but arts of ostentation ; and amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man’s self hath any perfection ; for, saith Pliny, very wittingly, “ In commending another you do yourself right ; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior : if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more ; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less. Vain-glorious men are [13] the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

ESSAY LVII.

HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

[1] THE winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage ; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation ; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired ; and some contrariwise, darken their virtue in the show of it ; so as they be [2] undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty, or virtue, wherein [3] he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the [4] fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can [5] honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets ; and, therefore, let a man contend to excel any competitors of his honour, in out-shooting [6] them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation : "*Omnis* [7] *fama a domesticis emanat.*" Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to seek merit, than fame ; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. [8] The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these : in the first place are "*conditores im-*

HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

periorum," founders of states and commonwealths ; as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael : the second place are "*legislatores*," lawgivers ; which are also called second founders, or "*perpetui principes*," because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone : such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the wise, that made the "*Siete partidas*:" in the the third place are "*liberatores*," or "*salvatores*;" such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers, or tyrants ; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France : in the fourth place are "*propagatores*," or "*propugnatores imperii*," such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders ; and in the last place, are "*patres patriæ*," which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live ; both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, "*participes* [9] *curarum*," those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs : their right hands, as we may call them : the next are "*duces belli*," great leaders ; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars : the third are "*gratiosi*," favourites ; such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people : and the fourth, "*negotiis pares*;" such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely ; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country : as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

ESSAY LVIII.

JUDICATURE.

[1] JUDGES ought to remember that their office is "*jus dicere*," and not "*jus dare*;" to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law: else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of scripture, doth not stick to add and alter; and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty.

[2] Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than

[3] confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. "Cursed (saith the law) is he that removeth the landmark." The mislayer of a

mere stone is to blame: but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth

[4] amiss of land and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain; so saith Solomon, "*Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causa sua coram adversario.*"

[5] The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

[6] First, for the causes or parties that sue. There

[7] be (saith the scripture) "that turn judgment into wormwood;" and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make

[8] it sour. The principal duty of a judge is, to sup-

press force and fraud ; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which [9] ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sen- [10] tence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills : so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecutions, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal ; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. “ *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem ;*” and where the wine-press is hard-wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and [12] strained inferences ; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws : especially in the case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour ; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the scripture speaketh, “ *Pluet super eos laqueos ;*” for penal laws pressed, are a shower of snares upon the people : therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution : “ *Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum,*” &c. In [13] causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that [14] plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an [15] essential part of justice ; and an over-speaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge [16]

first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar ; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent [17] information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four : to direct the evidence ; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech ; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said, and to give the [18] rule, or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a stayed and equal attention. [19] It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges ; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who representeth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest : but it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of [20] fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially toward the side which obtaineth not ; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. [21] There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence : and let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence ; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and min- [22]
 isters. The place of justice is an hallowed place ; [23]
 and therefore not only the bench, but the footpace and
 precincts, and purprise thereof, ought to be preserved
 without scandal and corruption ; for certainly, "grapes
 (as the Scripture saith) will not be gathered of thorns
 or thistles ;" neither can justice yield her fruit with
 sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching
 and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance [24]
 of courts is subject to four bad instruments : first, certain
 persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court
 swell, and the country pine : the second sort is of those
 that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are
 not truly "*amici curiæ*," but "*parasiti curiæ*," in puff-
 ing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps
 and advantages : the third sort is of those that may be
 accounted the left hands of courts ; persons that are full
 of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they
 pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring
 justice into oblique lines and labyrinths : and the fourth
 is the poller and exacter of fees ; which justifies the
 common resemblance of the courts of justice to the
 bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in
 weather, he is sure to lose part of the fleece. On [25]
 the other side, an ancient clerk, skillful in precedents,
 wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business
 of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth
 many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sove- [26]
 reign and estate. Judges ought, above all, to [27]
 remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables.
 "*Salus populi suprema lex ;*" and to know that laws,
 except they be in order to that end, are but things
 captious, and oracles not well inspired : therefore it is

an happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges ; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state : the one, where there is matter of law intervenient in business of state ; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law ; for many times the things deduced to judgment may be "*meum*" and "*tuum*," when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate ; I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent, or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people ; and let no man weakly conceive, that just laws and true policy have any antipathy ; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that [28] one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides : let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne ; being circumspect, that they do not check [29] or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws ; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs : "*Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*"

ESSAY LIX.

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY ON FAME.

THE poets make Fame a monster: they describe [1] her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously: they say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices, she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish: there follow excellent parables; [2] as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flieth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities: but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the Earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame: for certain it is, that rebels, figured by the giants, and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine: but now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth: but we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious [3] manner, there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame; we will therefore speak of these points; what are false fames, and what are true fames; and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and

how they may be checked and laid dead; and other [4] things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to move the legions of Syria into Germany and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely [5] inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not: and being wearied with the wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon [6] as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continually giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment; and it is a usual thing with the bashaws, to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. [7] Themistocles made Xerxes, King of Persia, post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart the Hellespont. There be a thousand such [8] like examples, and the more they are the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them every where: wherefore, let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

THE END.

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